Abraham Lincoln and Confederates

Jefferson Davis (2)

Excerpts from newspapers and other sources

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JEFFERSON DAVIS: AMERICAN PATRIOT, 1808-1861, A BIOGRAPHY OF THE YEARS BEFORE THE GREAT CONFLICT, by Hudson Strode (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. P. ix, 460. Illustrations, Acknowledgements, Sources and Notes. Index. $6.25).

Professor Hudson Strode of the University of Alabama is writing in two volumes a long-needed biography of the President of the Confederacy. The volume under review is the first of these.

A life of Jefferson Davis is a challenging but difficult and perhaps thankless task. If the biographer is honest, he will present the Confederate chieftain as a person out of harmony with the ideals of present-day America. Most of those who have written about Davis are so imbued with the fervent patriotism and liberalism of our times that they cannot defend him except by evasion. They do not defend forthrightly a man who tried to do what Lincoln and Sherman thought was the worst of crimes: to destroy the Union. They overemphasize the Davis characteristics of little importance: his gentlemanly manners, his routine efficiency as Secretary of War, and his opposition to precipitate secession. They neglect those characteristics which give him a place in history. They ignore the duty of the tragic dramatist: to portray a man standing for four years against national unification without the love of his own people.

It is fantastically ironic that Southerners have made into a folk hero, not the leader of the Lost Cause, but the man who destroyed it. The South exalts Abraham Lincoln because the region remembers with greater bitterness the deed of the carpetbaggers than it does the invasions of Sheridan and Sherman. It believes that if Lincoln had lived, Radical Reconstruction would have been averted.

Jefferson Davis lived long enough to be loved in defeat by his people as he had never been loved in war. There was irony in this attitude. It was anti-climactic and unreal, coming too late to effect Davis's place in history. Since his death he is forgotten. A few years ago when drink-seeking Virginians found the state liquor stores closed on Davis's birthday, they looked puzzled, asking, "Who is Jefferson Davis?" They will not have to be puzzled again because Davis's birthday is no longer a legal holiday in Virginia.

Another difficulty in the way of an appraisal of the Confederate leader is the paucity of source materials. The ten volumes of Davis papers published by the state of Mississippi do not go behind the official facade. Unscholarly Federal soldiers marched through Mississippi destroying the private papers of the man they regarded as an American Hitler. To collect adequate information about Davis requires the services of searchers like Douglas Freeman or David Mays who are willing to spend a lifetime collecting items that have been scattered to the winds. And the narrative would have to be written by one who would not smother the reader with irrelevances.

Mr. Strode, if we accept the recommendations appended to his book, is a veritable literary titan. He is a world traveler who has written seven books on a variety of countries. These books are declared by eminent persons including Thomas Mann to be "brilliant," "fascinating," "amusing," "erudite," and "brisk." We are told that his famous class in creative writing is called by the London Times "brilliantly effective."

Northern-born Mr. Strode tells how he was immersed in the Confederate tradition. From a mother-in-law "who spent half a century in helping memorialize Jefferson Davis" he got the true Davis spirit. He chronicles the deeds of a Strode ancestor who had a part in pushing back the Indians of the Northwest at the same time Davis did. The three elderly daughters of General Josiah Gorgas, Miss Mamie, Miss Maria, and Mrs. Pelfrey, opened their doors to Mr. Strode and inspired him with such precious relics as a lock of John C. Calhoun's hair and "lovely bowls" carried by the Gorgas family in its flight from Richmond.

The Alabama professor was urged to write a life of Davis by as formidable a group of celebrities as ever induced a writer to put pen to paper. He consulted Raymond Massey, the portrayer of Lincoln; Albert Spaulding, the violinist; Nabeth Hedin, a Swedish journalist; and the inhabitants of the holy of holies of Southern aristocracy, No. 1 South Battery, Charleston. He says that his chief inspiration came from Sigrid Undset, the Norwegian Nobel Prize novelist. For what relevant purpose he visited these distinguished persons is not made clear. More germaine was his consultation with Douglas Freeman. Mr. Freeman told the prospective biographer, "I have the utmost faith in

you. . . . and I know you will never proceed from a thesis to a confirmation of it, but rather frame the thesis from the evidence." Mr. Strode, after measuring his achievements, replied to Mr. Freeman, "I was intent on discerning the mind and heart of Jefferson Davis. The ax of truth and fair dealing was the only one I had to grind."

The author believes that his wide travels produced enough material to portray the "real Jefferson Davis." His manuscript sources are said to be of "transcending value," including "five boxes of intimate Davis papers" that he secured from the Davis descendants in Colorado.

The Alabama author has produced a book of some merit. It is based on an accurate and fairly complete exploration of sources used by others. It is refreshingly sympathetic and is not fearful of offending nationalistic prejudices. It reveals letters never before published and gives partial confirmation to the belief that Mrs. Davis was neurotic. On rare occasions Davis emerges as a vivid personality, as in the description of his farewell speech to the Senate.

Despite Mr. Strode's bad taste in saying so much about himself, he could have redeemed himself had he said more about Davis. There are tedious digressions on such subjects as John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, social life in Washington, John Brown's Raid, Uncle Tom's Cabin, the Brooks-Sumner Affair, Abraham Lincoln, and the secession of South Carolina. How Davis is connected with these men and events is not stated. Mr. Strode claims to have unearthed an abundance of new materials. Instead of making full use of them, he draws heavily on the time-worn Memoirs of Mrs. Davis. His book, on many of its pages, is more a biography of her than of her husband.

Mr. Strode is a veteran author with a capacity for expression revealed by his other books. However, the first volume of his Jefferson Davis is not easy to understand. He indulges in confusing sentence structure and ambiguous pronouns. He wallows in cliches and decorative adjectives so that his book reads like a brochure of the chamber of commerce. He writes of "historic Charleston," "the art of gracious living," "the gracious quality of Southern life," and of a man who was "strikingly handsome" and "every inch an aristocrat." He makes indiscriminate use of his manuscript findings, printing letters in full that throw no light on Davis and breaking into descriptions of public activities with love letters from Mrs. Davis. It is odd that this self-confident biographer often refuses to evaluate his subject, depending on quotations from appraisers who are not supposed to know as much about Davis as Mr. Strode. This tendency reaches absurdity when Thomas Dixon, described as a "searching investigator," is quoted as saying that Davis was "the best equipped, most thoroughly trained, most perfectly poised man who ever entered the arena of American politics."

Perhaps Mr. Strode is making a bid for the audience who read so extensively such books as The Clansman and Weep No More, My Lady. He is nostalgic over slavery, dwells on Mr. Davis's love affairs and gentlemanly qualities, on New England's guilt in once threatening secession, and on the renegade conduct of such politicians as Stephen Douglas and Henry Foote. All that may prevent ten thousand crepuscular ladies from reading his book in his lack of smooth and unified expression. He has not answered the demand for a full and tender but realistic account of the lonesome President of the phantom republic south of the Potomac.

Francis B. Simkins

Longwood College

The review is scheduled for publication in the fall issue of The Virginia Quarterly Review.

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http://archive.org/details/abrahamlincolnco02linc_0

Have sent this to MAHR - Don't if Strode will write Diehl + me to know - Ever if he serves Lipton!

Jefferson Davis: American Patriot, 1808-1861. By Hudson Strode. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. xx + 460 pp. Illustrations, acknowledgments, sources and notes on sources, index. $6.75.)

At 3:45 P.M. on June 17, 1951 Hudson Strode, author of eight books on foreign lands and professor of creative writing at Alabama, decided to write a biography of Jefferson Davis. Having been advised by Douglas S. Freeman that his potential audience "cannot resist detachment," Mr. Strode, with no thesis, determined "to seek the whole truth about the man," but somewhere along the line must have come to the conclusion that the time was ripe for an eye-opener on "the greatest misunderstood man in history." The hundred and fifty adult relatives of "the last of the Senate giants" ~~reluctant secessionist~~ have no reason to be displeased with some of their number having made available family collections of "private letters, never before printed." As this volume only brings Davis to 1861, final judgment must be held in abeyance though it is hard to see how the Confederacy is going to manage to lose the war.

The author has undoubtedly mastered the voluminous Davis materials but seems to have depended mainly on thirteen previously published biographies. He has perhaps wisely chosen not to clutter up the pages with footnotes inasmuch as his numerous quotations have been happily selected to undermine even the characters of such rogues as Douglas, Foote, Seward, Lincoln, and Clay. Varina Davis is called in to testify against Henry Foote, to describe her husband's life at West Point (when she was three or four years old), and to suggest that if "the reluctant secessionist" had appeared before more Northern audiences, "he might have saved the union and prevented the war," with his pedilection for blue blood and exquisite breeding and his mystical approach to historical writing, Mr. Strode is prone to speak of queer forebodings, of letters "written in a sophisticated hand," of the "native shrewdness" of the colored race, and of Mrs. Davis instinctively and intuitively doing this and that. Davis himself "developed something of a sixth sense concerning Indian deceit," "inherited his attitude to slavery," and never

"felt inclined to join any church until he was past fifty." Was not his face "too refined, too spiritual, or too purely intellectual" for revolution?

Besides an amazing array of irrelevancies (the Gadsden Purchase price is exceeded by the annual Southern Pacific payroll in Tucson), the volume showers forth historical pronouncements with an authoritarian air. If the South had withdrawn from the Union in 1850, it "would have succeeded without serious difficulty." Congress "shortsightedly" refused Pierce the cash to buy Cuba. If Douglas had not opposed it, the Lecompton constitution "would have passed and with it the crisis." "Though Lincoln may not have then have expected war to result from his inflexible attitude, no one has ever claimed he would have acted differently, even if he had forseen that war would be the outcome." "Northern machinery was complete for the production of the manifold materials of war." Pennsylvania protectionists would have been surprised to learn that the tariff (the importance of which Strode overemphasizes) was "decreed to protect New England industries."

It is the author's privilege to agree with Thomas Dixon that Davis "stepped forth to take his place in the world of action - the best equipped, most thoroughly trained, most perfectly poised man who had ever entered the arena of American politics." (In spite of the fact that "when momentous decisions had to be made, he was all but incapacitated by neuralgic anguish.") This hardly necessitates rationalizing Davis's mediocre standing at West Point on the basis of age or grudging instructors or of using a story which "may be completely without foundation" to bolster his reputation as a gay blade in youth. Nor, for that matter, of excusing his support of the Kansas-Nebraska bill by suggesting "if he was tricked, so were the ablest of Southern Senators." Few people have questioned Davis's integrity, but some have pointed out the irony of a great strict constructionist pushing a transcontinental railway (the southern route at that) and manifest destiny (except in the case of Oregon), his support of popular sovereignty until it turned sour for the South, and his championship of the Union solely on his own terms.

Jefferson Davis has long deserved a revisionist biography and no one will question that Mr. Strode's volume falls into that category. The challenge is of herculean proportions and the task perhaps ~~a thankless~~ an unrewarding one. Despite the pitfalls into which he has fallen and despite occasional factual slips (the Davis plantation was not in the Delta nor was A. D. Bache the great-grandson of Webster), the author has given us a refreshing account, with some new materials, of Davis's youth, his love affairs, his varied experiences as a soldier, and his emergence as a statesman of the first water. The book will be widely read and applauded by a people much more sympathetic with the Lost Cause than their ancestors were energetic in defending it ~~while there was still a chance for success~~. Mr. Strode has now had a prosperous first season in the big leagues and it may be that he will develop the stamina and finesse to go with his fast ball.

James W. Silver University of Mississippi

Notes on Stroke - DAVIS - By Bell G. W. Ling
Aug. 1955

Galley 9 - Samuel DAVIS used his influence
under Compression Portion of gold
gift[illegible]

Galley 24 - [illegible]

Galley 64 - word misspelling; should be [illegible]
Galley 64 - Post Winston - "One of his most critical novelists
biographers" ! ! !

Galley 91 Borsett referred to in substantiation
of point that Louisiana Purchase didn't mean
much to U.S.

Galley 95. In 1955 DAVIS reported total white male strength
of army was 14,216, that total we received
Selective received 12,001. Asked for four more field
regts & Corps. authorized them much 3,55

Galley 97 Joshua Le Comte - should be Le Comte

" 98 - 1956 twice

Galley 105. unfair to Douglas. Agrees with DAVIS in
them for opposing Adm, Admin would be [illegible]
Would have been to turn this book on squalling

Galley 106 Bill of [illegible]; check mss. Pt 4 on - Ike
two Pres. & Wm & Pres, Mary be Pres & Com. manuscript
Mrs. Chestnut.

Galley 131 - Hard on Lincoln for rejecting compromise on slavery
intervention.

Bears a strongly Pro-Davis slant — Jefferson Davis benefit of doubt in every doubtful situation. Hard on Davis's opponents - e.g. Joseph E. Johnston, Andrew Johnson.

Idyllic, moonlight & magnolia interpretation of old south + slavery.

Footnoting uneven and from scholarly standpoint unsatisfactory. Doesn't reveal sources of important quotes, as a rule, but good use of civic records to point up his views — as Colo. Springs' old cemeteries + city, going back to records to examine family genesis. Tries to leave impression of having done more research than he has.

Seems to be largely a re-write of Dodd, McElroy, Tate + other biographers. But introduces some material new to me — hints of getting to Varina show that the courtship almost blew up before marriage took place. Also points up difficulty the two had in making marital adjustment.

Another contribution is to point up tensions between Varina + Joe who was rivals for public appearances. Varina tripped and Joe did not dare. Brought to public's attention Will Joe's dread of duels during Mexican War, in Joe's address to Congress. This probably impressed Varina. Then she + Joe closed ranks. Plans for 2nd term as Governor compelled in '52.

Well written, and covers expanded facts more thoroughly than I had expected. Research is, I think,

superficial, simply by repeated notes scandalously
provoking the reader, he seeks to ~~create~~ leave
an opposite impression.

This is a biography by a writer, and
a critic, and talented one. It adds little
~~important~~ ~~material~~ either of fact or interpretation to ~~the body of~~ Davis' ~~work~~ existing knowledge of Davis. It is ~~simply~~ pro-Davis - pro-semitism to a lamentable extent.

Will CWRT folks want to ~~read~~ in spite
of its weaknesses because it is a need for
readable bio. of Davis that will be
conspicuously reviewed by newspapers, though
critically received by ~~lay~~ history
journals.?

of tradesmen is a formidable one, well represented by the cabinetmaker, metal craftsman, watchmaker, builder, bookbinder, chairmaker, ship and boatbuilder, coachmaker, mason, painter (artist), and musical instrument maker.

A useful chapter on "Miscellaneous Trades and Occupations" gives a clue to the number of craftsmen of the locality, based upon individuals who advertised in the New York newspapers. This is amplified by an analytical index to the volume which gives a complete list of all types of artisans and their products, prepared by Mr. Davis H. Wallace, Assistant Editor of the New-York Historical Society.

The New Yorker then was many-sided in his interests — in the way of entertainment, household trades, types of building, music, labor saving devices, business practice and education. There is a patriotic undertone in the repeated pleas for support of manufactures "which can, with some degree of attention, be brought to perfection in this country." In 1790 "American manufactured Paper Hangings" were advertised for sale "at a cheaper rate than those of British manufacture." The observation was made that "progress of manufactures in our youthful country affords a flattering presage of expeditious maturity." There was also evidence of a growing spirit of invention, or what came to be called "Yankee Ingenuity." It was during the last decade of the century that patent protection was first granted. Some of the inventions and gadgets represent the origin of some of our cherished "modern conveniences" such as alarm clocks and "new invented Venetian blinds." There were also convertible sofas which opened "into a commodious bedstead," electric machines for medical use, water closets, shower baths for dressing room or bedchamber, nonsmear face-makeup, self-basting roasters, and burglar and fire alarm systems.

The book is unique in its evidence of careful scholarship, and in the manner in which it satisfies the need of the historian who wishes to possess an accurate view of colonial arts and crafts.

A. Lawrence Kocher

Williamsburg, Virginia

Jefferson Davis, American Patriot, 1808-1861. By Hudson Strode. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1955. xx, 460 pp. $6.75.

The first biography of the President of the Confederate States of America was a highly laudatory and partial account published in 1868 and written by Frank H. Alfriend, the last editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger.* During the next seventy years a dozen other writers undertook, with varying degrees of success, to tell the story of Jefferson Davis' career. Now the fourteenth is at work. He is Hudson Strode, a professor at the University of Alabama who teaches courses in Shakespeare and "creative writing" and whose previous books have dealt mainly with his travels in Latin America and Scandinavia.

This volume (which is to be followed by another dealing with the years after 1861) begins with Davis' birth in Kentucky in 1808 and ends with the establishment of the Confederate government at Montgomery in February 1861. From the start Mr. Strode makes it ardently plain that he thinks Davis a heroic figure. "Up to 1861,"

he says, "Davis's enormous contribution to the vitality of democracy was freely admitted. . . . No living man at the time held so gloriously that combined record of conspicuous service on the battlefield and in statesmanship." Nowhere is Mr. Strode neutral. Anybody who opposed Davis had to be wrong. For example, Henry Foote – the only foe of Davis in Mississippi politics whom Mr. Strode even deigns to mention – was nothing but a "shrill-tongued," "noisy," "unscrupulous" "little opportunist." Stephen A. Douglas – whom Davis fought valiantly in the Senate from 1857 to 1860 – was a "ruthless" and "callous" schemer, "ruled by a consuming desire to be President." Not in precise words, but in substantive effect, Mr. Strode endorses Davis' own estimate of Douglas as a 'little grog-drinking, electioneering Demagogue." Only once–in relating the story of the Kansas-Nebraska Act–does Mr. Strode suggest that Davis' conduct may have deserved disapproval. Even then he says guardedly: "Davis may have been deceived and he may have acted unwisely" in persuading Franklin Pierce to approve the measure.

In his introduction and in his notes on sources, Mr. Strode ascribes much importance to "the wealth of new material" that he has found. Yet he never describes the exact nature or scope of this new material. Rather, he says simply that it includes "five boxes of intimate family papers" in the possession of Jefferson Hayes-Davis, a banker in Colorado Springs, and that he has used numerous Davis letters and mementoes in the hands of other Davis kinsmen (whom he names). He has dispensed with footnotes on the ground that they "interrupt the rhythm of reading."

The book is marred by numerous small errors of fact, but they are errors of a kind that the specialist in history, rather than the general reader, will object to. Its greatest weakness lies in its treatment of politics. Because Davis' chief importance in the years before 1861 lay in the field of politics, this weakness is fundamental. Mr. Strode tells us almost nothing about the political alignments in Mississippi that elected Davis once to the House of Representatives (in 1845) and twice to the Senate (in 1848 and 1857). Who were Davis' supporters and political friends in Mississippi? How did he gain their support? Why did they send him to Washington, and what did they expect of him there? Who opposed him, and on what grounds? Mr. Strode does not say. For example, he does not even give the name or the political party of the man whom Davis defeated for Congress in 1845; nor does he mention a single issue or assertion made in that campaign. Similarly, his account of national politics in the 1840's and 1850's is often sketchy and superficial, or oversimplified. Although he quotes liberally from some of Davis' best known speeches in the Senate, he has not bothered to explain what was actually going on in the Senate while Davis was a member. What were the issues and measures in which Davis was most deeply interested? What did he do to forward them? What, besides the anti-slavery agitation, did he fight? What were his relationships with his fellow senators? How much influence did he have in the Senate? Mr. Strode gives us but little light on these questions.

Mr. Strode is at his best when he describes the more human – or shall we say social–aspects of Davis' life. Davis' extensive family relationships, his marriage to Sarah Knox Taylor and her sad death, his courtship of Varina Howell and their life together, his and Franklin Pierce's warm friendship, plantation affairs at

"Brierfield" on the Mississippi and the parties and dinners of official society in Washington – all these matters seem to interest Mr. Strode more than do affairs of statecraft, and he writes about them lucidly, entertainingly, and often with real grace. Altogether, his work is very readable; but it is hardly likely, as his publishers predict, to become "the definitive life of Jefferson Davis."

Emory University JAMES Z. RABUN

Plantation Houses Around Petersburg. By EDWARD A. WYATT, IV. Petersburg, 1955. 52 pp. $1.00.

THIS booklet, a collection of articles reprinted from Petersburg's *Progress-Index,* of which newspaper the author is the able editor, is "a partial inventory of the surviving plantation houses (with a few churches and sites) in the vicinity of Petersburg, Virginia, which command some interest because of their history, their architecture, or both." The places chosen lie within the counties of Prince George, Dinwiddie, and Chesterfield, although only those within the southern half of the latter county are treated. Perforce included are such well-known plantations as the "Brandons," "Appomattox Manor," and "Battersea," but the author has rendered valuable service by introducing his readers to less familiar but thoroughly engrossing mansions such as "Bellevue" on the upper Appomattox, "Olive Hill," and "Kingston," as well as to smaller houses such as "Kippax," "Old Town," and "Mayfield," which have been especially neglected by recent students of ante-bellum civilization.

With his usual meticulous scholarship the author has utilized the most reliable sources of information – land books, deeds, wills, memoirs, biographies, and the especially rewarding old insurance policies of the Virginia Mutual Assurance Society. Traditions have been handled with caution. Each article is illustrated by a photograph, in most instances taken by the author himself with a polaroid camera, and these views alone are a noteworthy contribution to the Commonwealth's pictorial record. To point out a very few omissions among the selected places would be to forget that the author set out merely to produce a "partial" inventory, and would be both picayune and ungrateful in light of the paramount fact that Mr. Wyatt has presented to his community and Commonwealth the only available study of the subject, a study painstakingly researched and interestingly presented.

This makes a companion volume to the same writer's superb guide-book to the Cockade City, *Along Petersburg Streets,* by far the best in its field. Both works unfortunately are paper-bound and their content richly deserves a more durable and protective covering. It is to be devoutly hoped that *Plantation Houses* will not suffer the fate of *Along Petersburg Streets* and be permitted to go out of print, but perhaps this is too much to be expected of a municipality that almost systematically permits its loveliest landmarks to be destroyed in order to make way for filling stations and parking lots.

Petersburg, Virginia JAMES H. BAILEY

Long Overdue Justice to Jefferson Davis In a New and Understanding Biography

JEFFERSON DAVIS: American Patriot 1808-1861. A Biography of the Years Before the Great Conflict. By Hudson Strode. Illustrated. *460 pp. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.75.*

Reviewed by
MARGARET COIT

JEFFERSON DAVIS, President of the Confederacy, has been peculiarly unfortunate, both in his myth and his biographers. He has been depicted as martinet and neurotic, the pseudo-aristocrat, or would-be man-on-horseback. Never enshrined in Southern hearts, never becoming the hero-image that was Lee, Davis has been shunted aside, even in the affections of the Southern people. This new study by Hudson Strode does not tell us how this occurred, but it does raise the question: Why?

In "Jefferson Davis: American Patriot," the man and the biographer have met. The book is authoritative and well documented. It is highly readable. And it is temperate in tone. Although sympathetic to Davis, it does not minimize his faults—his inability to understand those who differed with him, his need for all to love and admire him, the military rigidity. His "times" come alive in a series of brilliant vignettes, as when the news of South Carolina's secession crashes in on a Washington Christmas party, or Davis takes his tragic leave of the Senate. Not only does the book shed new light on issues and personalities but on our own troubled time. Mr. Strode's sympathetic characterizations of the patriotic Taylor and the well-meaning Pierce, the confused Buchanan and Davis himself, all dedicated, loyal men, struggling to stem tides that no man could breast, read with ominous significance today, as again the South struggles to reconcile Federal fiat and a rebellious public opinion.

Moreover, no man is diminished to add to Davis' stature. If Mr. Strode is critical of the trickiness of Stephen A. Douglas and Henry Clay, he writes with warm admiration of Horace Greeley and William H. Seward. His book has no ax to grind, unless it is to restore Jefferson Davis to the American people.

Here, Mr. Strode succeeds admirably. Not only are we given a whole new political and personal interpretation of Davis, but, historically, too, the book breaks new ground. A trove of new family letters, never before published, were made available to the biographer, and it is from these that many of his new concepts derive.

Seemingly, Jefferson Davis personified the Southern cause. Born in a log cabin, early chosen and trained for leadership, he fulfilled himself gloriously as soldier, planter and statesman. We see the riotous young blade at West Point, the highest-stepping dancer on the Indian frontier, a man of fun and fight and tremendous courage, the hero of Buena Vista, the tender lover and husband. Mr. Strode makes it clear that the real love of Davis' life was his twenty-one-year-old bride, Sarah Knox Taylor, a fact that was painfully clear to the second wife, Varina Howell. The delicate adjustments of this much-publicized marriage are depicted by Mr. Strode with the pace of good fiction. We find that Davis, not Varina, was the dominant partner, that, in fact, she was always to play second fiddle to her husband's consuming passions, his love of cause and country.

Mr. Strode deals squarely with the question of whether or not the Southern cause might have prevailed had the fire-eater Rhett assumed leadership and the South seceded in 1850. Forcefully, he marshals evidence to show that both Jefferson Davis and the South were driven into secession, not whooped into it; and that neither in 1850 nor in 1860 was public opinion really on the fire-eaters' side. Furthermore, as a former Secretary of War, Jefferson Davis was painfully aware that defense-wise the South was armed with nothing but morale; and, even more than Lincoln, he had the tragic awareness that secession only meant war. Universally acclaimed as "the foremost man in the South," popular in the North, he could have united the Democratic party and, according, to Benjamin F. Butler, beaten any man the Republicans chose to name. But he had no personal ambition; his destiny was forced upon him. It is interesting to reflect that had fate moved differently, Jefferson Davis, instead of Abraham Lincoln, might have been President of the United States and preserver of the Union.

Nationalist and patriot, Davis would be reviled as a traitor; lover of the South, he would be almost forgotten by the South; warm and human and alive, he would be depicted as distant, mechanical and cold—his good interred, his virtue obscured. Hudson Strode has done a remarkable work of reconstruction in what is unquestionably the best biography of Jefferson Davis we have.

Margaret Coit is the author of the Pulitzer Prize biography, "John C. Calhoun: American Portrait," and of a forthcoming study, "Mr. Baruch."

Leader of the Lost Cause

***"Jefferson Davis, American Patriot," by Hudson Strode** (Harcourt, Brace. 460 pp. $6.75), is the first volume of a new biography of the President of the Confederacy. It is reviewed below by Professor T. Harry Williams of Louisiana State University, author of a number of volumes on the War Between the States.*

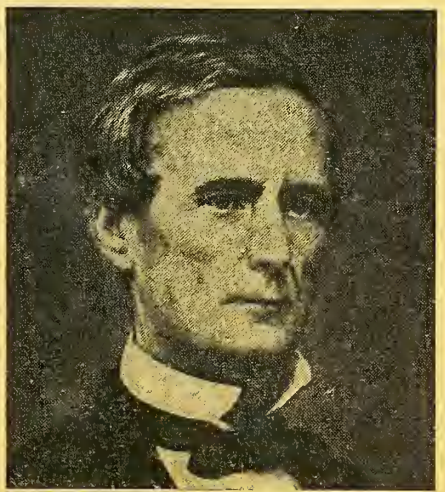
By T. Harry Williams

AS THE leader of the militant South after the death of John C. Calhoun, Jefferson Davis was one of the dominating figures in American political life between 1850 and 1860. Then he became the head of the most formidable attempt and—if one excepts the vague venture of Aaron Burr and the hazy plots of the New England Federalists in 1814—the only attempt ever made to divide the American Union. Add to this that his life epitomizes that most appealing of all tragic themes, the gallant man who goes down to defeat battling great odds, and it would seem that the biographers would have swarmed all over him.

And yet the strange truth is that less than fifteen biographies of the Confederate President have been published since 1868 when the first life appeared. None can be considered as an authoritative or an adequate treatment. Why have all the Civil War biographers of the past quarter of a century (with the exception of Robert McElroy) passed him by? Undoubtedly the explanation lies in his career and his personality. He was the civil leader of a lost cause, of a cause that sought to halt an inevitable trend toward centralism and to destroy national unification. The military leaders of this cause have been invested with martial glamour, but Davis, its civil director, has seemed rustic, backward, and out of harmony with the ideals of the modern world. Moreover, many Southerners, seeking a scapegoat for the failure of the Confederacy, blamed Davis for the collapse of their country. As a person Davis has repelled biographers in much the same way that he rebuffed his contemporaries. He was, or seemed to be, cold, distant, arrogant—and wordy and tedious as well. In short, he appeared to most people as a good man but a dull one.

With the present vigorous popular interest in the Civil War about to be intensified by the approach of the centennial years, it was inevitable that sooner or later somebody would bring out a new biography of Davis. First in the field is Professor Hudson Strode, who teaches Shakespeare and creative writing at the University of Alabama and who previously has written seven travel books. Apparently he has been working on his project since 1951, which is none too long a time to devote to an individual of Davis's importance and accomplishments. The volume under review, "Jefferson Davis, American Patriot," deals with the years from 1808 to 1861, and treats of Davis's early years, his education at West Point, his army service, his two marriages, his career as United States Senator and Secretary of War, and his election as President of the Confederate States. Mr. Strode intends to follow with a second volume, "Jefferson Davis, Confederate President," covering 1861 to 1889.

THE author views his subject with reverence, sympathy, and condonation. It is not going too far to say that his point of view is that of an admiring Southerner of Davis's own time who could admit a few mild faults in the object of his adoration. Although this quality invests the book with a certain bias or slant, it is not in itself a serious drawback. There is value in having Davis presented as his own people saw him; their vision of him, even though not completely accurate, is a part of the truth of history. The book has other merits. As a writer, Mr. Strode knows how to tell a good story; his narrative is well written, fast-moving, and always interesting.



—Portrait by Joel Webb, from book jacket.
Jefferson Davis—"scapegoat for failure."

In his researches he was able to turn up some significant new material, the most valuable of which was five boxes of family papers owned by a Davis descendant in Colorado. Needless to say, these fresh sources throw a revealing light on several aspects of Davis's career and character, and Mr. Strode has thoughtfully reproduced a number of letters never before published. Among other things, these documents demonstrate that the second Mrs. Davis (Varina Howell) possessed some highly neurotic qualities and that she and Joe Davis, Jefferson's older brother, both tried to dominate Jefferson and became intensely jealous of each other. Mr. Strode has been partly successful in achieving one of his announced goals: to show that Davis was a warm human being and not, as is commonly supposed, just a Mississippi edition of the cast-iron Calhoun. At least with his intimate friends and his social inferiors, Davis exhibited many lovable characteristics. As of the present, Mr. Strode's book is the best account we have of the pre-Confederacy Davis.

Although the author has consulted the obvious secondary works dealing with Davis's period, at several points he betrays his amateur historical standing. He seems to think that during the years before the Civil War the South suffered under an oppressively high tariff, while as a matter of fact from 1846 on the tariff was low, exactly as the South wanted it. He does not seem to understand Stephen A. Douglas's motives in introducing the Kansas-Nebraska act or Pierre Soulé's role in the issuance of the Ostend Manifesto or the reasons for Davis's choice as Confederate President. In fine, he is not sufficiently familiar with the latest monographic material. But his most serious fault is that he seems to accept Davis's dictum that the North was engaged in a deliberate struggle to deprive the South of equality in the Union. The South was indeed being pushed into a position of inequality but by profound, inexorable social and economic forces rather than by evil men in the North. That Davis did not see this constituted a tragic limitation in his mentality, and Mr. Strode's failure to see it completely is a limitation in his book. This reviewer has long believed that Davis was not big enough or ruthless enough to direct a revolutionary movement. We await with respectful skepticism Mr. Strode's treatment of Davis the Confederate President.

For flattering review, by W. H. Stephenson, of Strode's Davis, I,

see La. Hist. Quarterly, XXXIX (Jan. 1956) 131-133

Chicago Sunday Tribune Magazine of

LIFTING TRAITOR VEIL FROM DAVIS

"JEFFERSON DAVIS: American Patriot," by Hudson Strode [Harcourt, Brace, 460 pages, $6.75].

Reviewed by Avery Craven

Hudson Strode

The average American knows little of Jefferson Davis other than that he was president of the Confederate States of America. For this he has been judged a traitor and forgiveness denied. Robert E. Lee and Stonewall Jackson, who fought for the Confederacy, have become near national heroes. Their pictures have even appeared on postage stamps. Jefferson Davis, however, still remains under a shadow, and even the south itself has done little more than to call one of its highways by his name.

Much of the blame for the fortunate failure of the Confederacy has been placed at Davis' door. His stubborn refusal to face realities; his playing of favorites; his meddling with military affairs; and his inability to distinguish between what was important and what was not important—these things have been pointed out over and over again as the reasons why the Confederacy failed. So, to treason, has been added the charge of being incompetent.

• • •

Yet, as Hudson Strode here clearly shows, Davis was considered to be a man of superior ability in the years before 1861, and was respected as the most capable man in all the south. He proved himself to be a worthy hero in the Mexican war and ranked in public estimation only second to Gen. Zachary Taylor. He was equally capable as a senator and was probably the most efficient secretary of war the nation ever had.

He was one of the chief promoters of the transcontinental railroad and was to a large degree responsible for the Gadsden purchase. He did more to make West Point great than any other and he was responsible for sending young George B. McClellan to observe the Crimean war. He modernized the United States army at a critical period in its development.

• • •

What will be most surprising to readers of this biography will be the fact that Davis is pictured as at all times a thoro conservative. He was opposed to secession to a degree that brought condemnation from his own state. He struggled harder than did Lincoln to prevent the nation from drifting into civil war. He accepted the presidency of the Confederacy with reluctance. He went with his state because he honestly believed that a state had a right to control its own domestic affairs and not because he hoped for higher public office.

Such is the Jefferson Davis that emerges from Strode's researches in old and new materials. It is a fair picture and one that deserves consideration. The reader, however, will be left wondering why a man so competent and so successful in his early career should have gained so bad a reputation in the next phase of his life. Maybe that will be explained in the next volume.

THE JUNIOR BOOKSHELF

by POLLY GOODWIN

"THE EXPANDABLE BROWNS," by Adele and Cateau DeLeeuw, illustrated by Don Sibley [Little, Brown, $2.75]. Sharing the round-the-year experiences of the "expandable Browns" should prove a heartwarming experience for 8 to 12s who love to read about the everyday doings of a happy family. Mother, Father, Bob, Pat, and small Suzie are just that. They not only have fun sharing work and play and holiday projects but along the way they manage to accumulate animal pets, a charming aunt, a spoiled child from next door, a nursery school, and a mysterious roomer. In fact, the Browns, with their outgiving personalities, are a family it's a real pleasure to know.

"MYSTERY ON THE ISLE OF SKYE," by Phyllis A. Whitney, illustrated by Ezra Jack Keats [Westminster, $2.75]. The Isle of Skye, off the Scottish coast, becomes a place of mist wreathed beauty and romantic history in this interesting tale, born of its author's recent pilgrimage there as a descendant of the famed clan MacLeod. Young Cathy MacLeod flies from America with some little known relatives to see the old home of her sick grandmother, whose parting gift is a box of "surprises." Following its mysterious instructions both helps Cathy to make friends with her standoffish cousin Don and leads to exciting new puzzles and new friends. Highlights include a dangerous mountain climb, an exhibition of Scottish games and piping, and a visit to Dunvegan castle. Good reading for 9 to 12s.

"SUSIE AND THE BALLET FAMILY," by Lee Wyndham, pictures by Jane Miller [Dodd, Mead, $2.50]. The glamor ballet holds for little girls finds contagious expression in this third story about 9 year old Susie, who loves to dance. Making friends at the seashore with a famous ballerina, her choreographer husband, and their son, watching them at work, and taking part in a special children's production of the Nutcracker ballet, add up to a thrilling summer vacation for Susie, one whose joys young readers will eagerly, if enviously, share. It's a charming story, in which the author again makes intelligent use of her knowledge of her subject, introducing, for instance, a child badly trained in ballet, to point up the importance of good instruction.

* *

Two by Two

A new addition to Rand McNally's $1 Giant books is Dorothy Bell Briggs' "Noah's Ark," which brings an assortment of familiar animals into the ark in simple rhymes and colorful pictures by Elizabeth Webbe.

Virginia Quarterly Review, Winter 1956 (Volume 32, No. 1)

A CHALLENGING TASK

By Francis Butler Simkins

PROFESSOR Hudson Strode of the University of Alabama is writing in two volumes a long-needed biography of the President of the Confederacy. The volume under review, "Jefferson Davis: American Patriot, 1808-1861," is the first of these.

A life of Jefferson Davis is a challenging but difficult and perhaps thankless task. If the biographer is honest, he will present the Confederate chieftain as a person out of harmony with the ideals of present-day America. Most of those who have written about Davis are so imbued with the fervent patriotism and liberalism of our times that they cannot defend him except by evasion. They do not defend forthrightly a man who tried to do what Lincoln and Sherman thought was the worst of crimes: to destroy the Union. They overemphasize the Davis characteristics of little importance: his gentlemanly manners, his routine efficiency as Secretary of War, and his opposition to precipitate secession. They neglect those characteristics which give him a place in history. They ignore the duty of the tragic dramatist: to portray a man standing for four years against national unification without the love of his own people.

It is fantastically ironic that Southerners have made into a folk hero, not the leader of the Lost Cause, but the man who destroyed it. The South exalts Abraham Lincoln because the region remembers with greater bitterness the deeds of the carpetbaggers than it does the invasions of Sheridan and Sherman. It believes that if Lincoln had lived, Radical Reconstruction would have been averted.

Jefferson Davis lived long enough to be loved in defeat by his people as he had never been loved in war. There was irony

Jefferson Davis: American Patriot, 1808-1861. A Biography of the Years Before the Great Conflict. By Hudson Strode. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $6.75.

inevitable, as set forth in his great opus, "The Law of Civilization and Decay." But he was restlessly concerned over a formula for checking or delaying collapse through American centralized efficiency transcending both democracy and plutocracy at home and executing a great power rôle abroad.

The Beringause biography is larger and somewhat less concise than Thornton Anderson's "Brooks Adams: Constructive Conservative." Mr. Beringause has made new and rich use of vast manuscript materials, including the pertinent and pointed correspondence between Brooks and Henry Adams over many years. The exploration of this intellectual partnership between two of the four brothers of the fourth generation of the great Adams family constitutes adequate justification for an exhaustive book and atones for any stray bits of tediousness confronting the reader.

Elizabeth Stevenson's "Henry Adams" is a fitting complement to the biography of Brooks Adams, partly because it avoids duplicating extensively the details of the correspondence between the two brothers. Her work fills a niche and a need in the coverage of the House of Adams. It too is based on years of research, with adequate attention to Adams' friends, family, and relatives. With deftness and simplicity it explores the inner workings of the emotional intellect and the intellectual emotions of Henry Adams, whose philosophy of history carried subtle and subconscious hallmarks of challenging autobiography. Miss Stevenson finds these hallmarks, not only in "The Education of Henry Adams," but in the other writings of Henry Adams, whether history, biography, or fiction. In "Mont-Saint-Michel and Chartres" Adams saw a unity, not of the twentieth century, "but what he saw in that unity betrayed the personal bias and gave the book its flavor." We have here a full and intimate picture of America's greatest philosopher-historian, who started his career by indicting the administration of the national government and came to a life-end interpretation by indicting the administration of the universe. The Stevenson story of the life and writings of this grand fatalist is eloquent.

in this attitude. It was anti-climactic and unreal, coming too late to affect Davis's place in history. Since his death he is forgotten. A few years ago when drink-seeking Virginians found the state liquor stores closed on Davis's birthday, they looked puzzled, asking, "Who is Jefferson Davis?" They will not have to be puzzled again because Davis's birthday is no longer a legal holiday in Virginia.

Another difficulty in the way of an appraisal of the Confederate leader is the paucity of source materials. The ten volumes of Davis papers published by the state of Mississippi do not go behind the official façade. Unscholarly Federal soldiers marched through Mississippi destroying the private papers of the man they regarded as an American Hitler. To collect adequate information about Davis requires the services of searchers like Douglas Southall Freeman or David Mays, who are willing to spend a lifetime collecting items that have been scattered to the winds.

The present reviewer is aware of the difficulties of writing a life of Davis. He himself is currently engaged in this project. Readers of this review should weigh this fact for prejudices in what follows.

Mr. Strode, if we accept the recommendations appended to his book, is a veritable literary titan. He is a world traveler who has written seven books on a variety of countries. These books are declared by eminent persons including Thomas Mann to be "brilliant," "fascinating," "amusing," "erudite," and "brisk." We are told that his famous class in creative writing is called by the London Times "brilliantly effective."

Northern-born Mr. Strode tells how he was immersed in the Confederate tradition. From a mother-in-law "who spent half a century in helping memorialize Jefferson Davis" he got the true Davis spirit. He chronicles the deeds of a Strode ancestor who had a part in pushing back the Indians of the Northwest at the same time Davis did.

The Alabama professor was urged to write a life of Davis by as formidable a group of celebrities as ever induced a

writer to put pen to paper. He consulted Raymond Massey, the portrayer of Lincoln; Albert Spalding, the violinist; Naboth Hedin, a Swedish journalist; and the inhabitants of the holy of holies of Southern aristocracy, No. 1 South Battery, Charleston. He says that his chief inspiration came from Sigrid Undset, the Norwegian Nobel Prize novelist. For what relevant purpose he visited these distinguished persons is not made clear. More germane was his consultation with Douglas Southall Freeman. Mr. Freeman told the prospective biographer: "I have the utmost faith in you . . . and I know you will never proceed from a thesis to a confirmation of it, but rather frame the thesis from the evidence." Mr. Strode, after measuring his achievements, replied to Mr. Freeman: "I was intent on discerning the mind and heart of Jefferson Davis. The ax of truth and fair dealing was the only one I had to grind."

The author believes that his wide travels produced enough material to portray the "real Jefferson Davis." His manuscript sources are said to be of "transcending value," including "five boxes of intimate Davis papers" that he secured from the Davis descendants in Colorado.

The Alabama author has produced a book of some merit. It is based on an accurate and fairly complete exploration of sources used by others. It is refreshingly sympathetic and is not fearful of offending nationalistic prejudices. It reveals letters never before published and gives partial confirmation to the belief that Mrs. Davis was neurotic. On rare occasions Davis emerges as a vivid personality, as in the description of his farewell speech to the Senate.

Despite Mr. Strode's bad taste in saying so much about himself, he could have redeemed himself had he said more about Davis. There are tedious digressions on such subjects as John C. Calhoun, Andrew Jackson, Daniel Webster, social life in Washington, John Brown's Raid, "Uncle Tom's Cabin," the Brooks-Sumner Affair, Abraham Lincoln, and the secession of South Carolina. How Davis is connected

with these men and events is not stated. Mr. Strode claims to have unearthed an abundance of new materials. Instead of making full use of them, he draws heavily on the time-worn "Memoirs" of Mrs. Davis. His book, on many of its pages, is more a biography of her than of her husband.

Mr. Strode is a veteran author with a capacity for expression revealed by his other books. However, the first volume of his "Jefferson Davis" is not easy to understand. He indulges in confusing sentence structure and ambiguous pronouns. He wallows in clichés and decorative adjectives so that his book reads like a brochure of the chamber of commerce. He writes of "historic Charleston," "the art of gracious living," "the gracious quality of Southern life," and of a man who was "strikingly handsome" and "every inch an aristocrat." He makes indiscriminate use of his manuscript findings, printing letters in full that throw no light on Davis and breaking into descriptions of public activities with love letters from Mrs. Davis. It is odd that this self-confident biographer often refuses to evaluate his subject, depending on quotations from appraisers who are not supposed to know as much about Davis as Mr. Strode. This tendency reaches absurdity when Thomas Dixon, described as a "searching investigator," is quoted as saying that Davis was "the best equipped, most thoroughly trained, most perfectly poised man who ever entered the arena of American politics."

Perhaps Mr. Strode is making a bid for the audience that read so extensively such books as "The Clansman" and "Weep No More, My Lady." He is nostalgic over slavery, dwells on Mr. Davis's love affairs and gentlemanly qualities, on New England's guilt in once threatening secession, and on the renegade conduct of such politicians as Stephen Douglas and Henry Foote. All that may prevent ten thousand crepuscular ladies from reading his book is his lack of smooth and unified expression. He has not answered the demand for a full and tender but realistic account of the lonesome President of the phantom republic south of the Potomac.

EXPLORING MORAL ISSUES

By Charles Bunn

WHEN I was quite young my grandfather told me what the practice of law was like when *he* was young. "In those days," he said, "in those days the book you needed most was not a law book. It was 'Points of the Horse.' "

Points of the Horse: yes, of course; and after that Points of the Locomotive, or the Airplane, or the Stock Market, or of Corporate Accounting, and always Points of People: their Ideas, their Motives, their Behavior in all sorts of circumstances. For the beginning of a lawsuit is a dispute between people; and who can say what they may not dispute about or what areas of knowledge or emotion may be needed to decide their quarrel? The answers to the harder problems are not often in the law books; lawyers must be students of Man, and amateurs of many areas of knowledge and opinion.

One of the most important of such areas is morals: ideas of right and wrong. It is important to the lawyer for two reasons, because people commonly feel strongly about questions they regard as moral, and because judges want their decisions to be just as well as lawful.

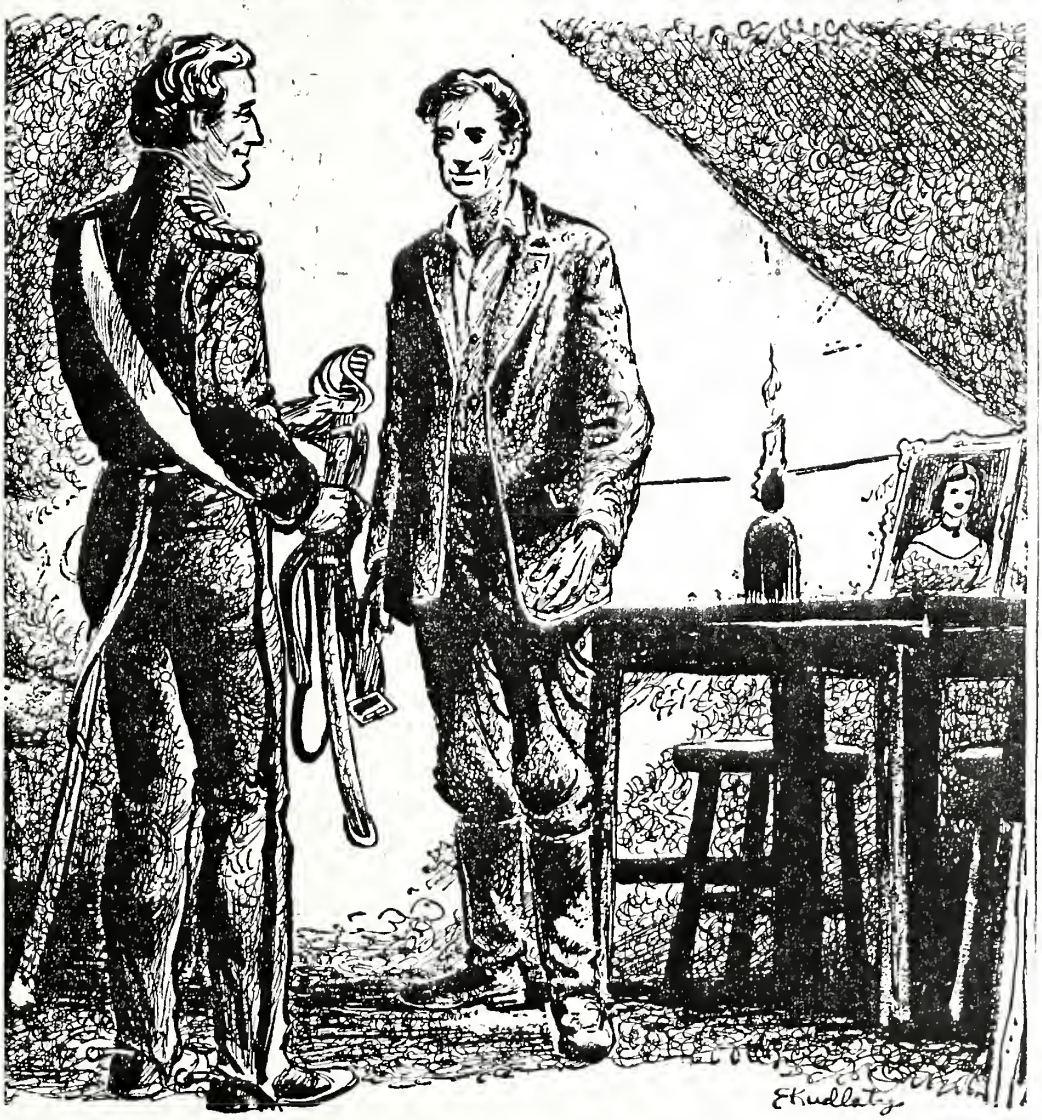
A moral issue, I am sure, is present and important in many more law cases than the few in which it is explicit. For we claim to have "a government of laws and not of men," and therefore to decide by rules, and to have rules to decide by; and not so very many of our rules are expressed in moral terms. But the rules have fuzzy edges, and I think no experienced practitioner will doubt that a client whose cause appears to the judge or jury to be just has made the first long step toward victory. "Hard cases make bad law," the lawyers say: that is to say, cases in which the known rule seems to the court to reach unjust results will often cause deviations in the rule.

The Moral Decision. By Edmond Cahn. Indiana University Press. $5.00.

Arizona Daily Star
February 12, 1958

When They Were Only 23

Abe Lincoln, Jefferson Davis Once Were Comrades-In-Arms



Black Hawk War Saw Them Together

Abraham Lincoln. Jefferson Davis. The one, President of the United States and Commander-in-Chief of the federal armies in the Civil War. The other, President of the Confederate States of America and Commander-in-Chief of the Southern armies. Could there be two more mortal enemies? It would seem not. But was that really so? One wonders—especially if one goes back 30 years before Fort Sumter.

Kentucky-born Abe Lincoln and Kentucky-born Jeff Davis were both 23 years old—and comrades-in-arms. The year was 1832.. That's when they first met, liked each other and became friends.

This is a tale that they tell of cultured, aristocratic, West Point-trained Davis and rawboned, gangling, self-educated frontiersman Lincoln when their lives touched briefly, as do forking streams—to flow away on divergent courses, each branch ultimately finding outlet in its own tragedy. They say it happened in the Black Hawk War—a campaign that earned little more than a paragraph in history.

Black Hawk was the chief of a band of Sauk and Fox Indians whose country was the lush valley of the Fox River in northern Illinois. Under what was admittedly a most unfair treaty, they sold the whites their homeland for little more than a "mess of pottage" and retired westward across the Mississippi.

There they starved. In desperation they recrossed the Great River, thus violating the treaty and rose against the whites. Blood was shed.

There were federal garrisons nearby and, to augment them, Governor John Reynolds called for volunteers from every village in the area.

All responded, including New Salem, where Abe Lincoln lived. There were 68 New Salem volunteers and they elected Lincoln captain of their group, which they called the Sangamon Company, after the river on whose banks New Salem stood.

The Sangamon Company marched to Fort Armstrong, on Rock Island, to link up with Regular Army troops of the first U. S. Infantry under a newly created colonel — Zachary Taylor — a 20-year veteran of Indian fighting, even then called "Old Rough and Ready" by his men.

The Illinois volunteers formed up to be welcomed by the Regulars. Company captains were ordered "front and center." Except Abe, these leaders were mounted, but none was in uniform. Capt. A. Lincoln, the only commander afoot, stood there in rough jacket, coarse frontier shirt open at the neck, yellow homespun trousers stuffed into rawhide boots instep deep in mud.

After the brief welcoming speech, Old Rough and Ready introduced two young aides who would be liaison officers between the volunteers and the Regulars. One was a Lieut. Robert Anderson — to be known to every schoolboy as the hero of Fort Sumter. The other was Lieut. Jefferson Davis, less than four years out of West Point and three decades away from immortality as the leader of the Lost Cause.

Later that afternoon the volunteers stood muster and inspection by Col. Taylor and his aides, with Lt. Davis as the inspection officer. Sharp-eyed Col. Taylor interrupted the proceedings.

"Captain Lincoln, you have no sabre?"

"No, sir."

"Lieutenant Davis, see that Captain Lincoln has a sabre before the next inspections."

The men dismissed, Lincoln and Davis remained together, the rough, slouching home-spun pioneer, and the West Point-erect soldier, natty in Army blues, with gold-barred epaulets and gleaming sabre. Davis, strangely attracted to the young rustic, invited him to his quarters.

"I have an extra sword I'd like to lend you."

Inside the Spartanly furnished tent, Lincoln noticed a sword in its scabbard, hanging from a peg on the tent pole.

As Lincoln finally prepared to leave, Davis took down the sword and buckled its belt around Abe's waist.

Lincoln wore the sword throughout his Black Hawk service, which lasted a scant four months. Lincoln was mustered out by Lieutenant Davis on July 10, 1832.

It was then that Lincoln returned the borrowed sabre. He had worn it since he was mustered in at Fort Armstrong. He had never drawn it against a foe. The Black Hawk War was Lincoln's only military experience and he never saw a hostile Indian.

And that is the tale they tell of Lincoln and Davis together under the Stars and Stripes.

Adapted from "Comes An Echo on the Breeze" by Edward J. Ryan.

THE CIVIL WAR ROUND-TABLE

P. O. BOX 5028, CLEVELAND, OHIO 44101

THE LAST HOME OF JEFFERSON DAVIS

BEAUVOIR

As given Before February 17, 1958
Meeting of The Civil War Round
Table of Cleveland

by
Guy Di Carlo Jr.

I. Davis from 1865 to 1877

With the surrender of Joe Johnston in April, 1865, the war was over for the fighting man, but there was still the question of Jefferson Davis and members of the Confederate government to be settled. By May 6th, Stanton had issued orders for the arrest of Davis. As an added incentive there was a substantial reward of $100,000 in gold offered for the capture of Davis and members of his government. The orders were countersigned by the military commander of the area, General James H. Wilson, from his headquarters in Macon, Georgia.

Four days later in Irwinsville, Georgia, Davis was caught, and not as reported by an over-imaginative reporter for a New York paper who wrote, "Mr. Davis sought to escape clad in women's clothes. Slanted imagination was prevalent during the War. Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton had pictures made of store window dummies in dresses and distributed photographs to the press to show Davis in woman's clothing. Rumors also circulated that the captors might find several million dollars in specie in the possession of Davis, and if so, the captors were to keep it, but when caught the specie was not found. The bulk of the reward money went to Colonel Pritchard and his 4th Michigan cavalry, with a small portion to a unit of the 2nd Wisconsin cavalry which aided in the capture.

Davis was turned over to the military authority in Macon, Georgia, and from there he and his family were put aboard the steamer "Clyde" to be transported to Augusta and thence to Port Royal where Vice President Alexander Stephens, General Joseph Wheeler, and C.C. Clay were brought aboard. At Fort Monroe Davis was removed with his family while the others were sent to the Federal prison near Boston, Fort Warren. Later the rest of the Davis family, Varina, Margaret, and Jefferson Jr., with the exception of Winnie, who was in Europe attending school, were returned to Savannah.

Being arrested under martial law the filing of a formal charge was not required, however the accusation of the government was that Davis was a party to the assassination of President Lincoln. When Wilson told Davis of this charge he said, "Why Johnston knows I prefer Lincoln as President to himself."

Prominent government officials thought this charge was ridiculous. Even Thaddeu Stevens refused to give the matter any support holding that there was insufficient evidence presented and that which was presented was incredible. So on the advice of the Attorney General it was dropped, but another accusation substituted by Joseph Holt, the Adjutant General, this an accusation of cruelty to military prisoners. Holt a former Mississippi lawyer in Jackson and Vicksburg, was also the chief proscutor

of prisoners tried over the assination of Abraham Lincoln. Public opinion was strong in favor of the governement, but again weighing the legal evidence the Attorney General advised for a second time that the charge now prevailing against Davis be dropped. While the government was trying to find a charge that would hold in court, Davis pleaded that his case be transferred to a Civil Court, and that he given an opportunity to hearthe accusations and answer them. In the meantime, Major John Cravens, Davis' prison physician, who later wrote a book concerning Davis's prison life, advised that Davis be transferred to the Federal jail in Washington--the same political prison that Belle Boyd was held (The Old Capitol Prison) when she spent some time with the Yankees.

Through the efforts of Secretary McCullough and largely through the efforts of Chief Justice Salmon P. Chase the case was finally transferred to the Civil Courts, and Davis was moved from Fort Monroe. With this move both Davis and Lee were indicted for treason by a Federal Grand Jury composed of 12 whites and 12 blacks. General Grant quashed the indictment against Lee, and through the efforts of 20 prominent northerners, such as Horace Greeley, Garritt Smith, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Davis was admitted to bail of $100,000. When Davis was released from his jail he remained under duress from the government for some ten months while awaiting trial for treason. Finally the U.S. Attorney moved that the charge be dropped, and Davis was discharged. Released from all encumbrances under the General Amnesty Act of 1868, Davis and other Confederate leaders were blocked from any restoration of their civil status and citizenship by the 14th Amendment which prohibited the President from returning the priceless heritages to the members of the Confederate government.

After this series of events Davis went to live in Canada with many other Confederate soldiers and statesmen who had taken refuge there. The Canadian winters proved too much for him and his physician there advised him to return to a warmer climate. The family headed for Havana, and after a short stay of a few weeks, crossed over to New Orleans from where they headed for Canada once again, and thence to Liverpool, England. In the latter part of 1869, while still in England, Davis received an offer of the presidency of the about-to-be-formed Carolina Insurance Company to be located in Memphis, Tennessee. He accepted and in 1870 settled in Memphis with his family.

In the new enterprise, the ex-President's available funds, amounting to $15,000 were invested, and he set about the task of directing the company. Three years he labored, endeavoring to make it a success. The economic panic of 1873, and the usual result, when inexperience undertakes to manage techical affairs, happened. The company failed and with it sank the Davis fortune, together with the money of the confiding friends of the Davis family.

This was only one of his misfortunes for Davis then entered a suit to obtain the family plantation, "Brierfield", that belonged to both Jefferson and his brother Joseph, who had died in 1869. After long litigation and a Supreme Court decision the plantation along with $80,000 in notes were awarded to Jefferson in 1878.

The year of 1877 drew to a clsoe and witnessed the failure of Jefferson Davis's last commercial undertaking, which had been several years in the making. He had proposed to incorporate a line of steamships to run from New Orleans to South America. Davis visited England and through friends such as former Confederate Minister Slidell managed to raise a considerable amount of capital. However, in a short time disaster

overtook the new enterprise and it failed. When the year 1877 drew to a close, the bankrupt shipping corporation was on the ex-president's hands. His financial schemes had all failed and he and his practical wife began to look for a quiet and restful spot to spend their remaining days. Davis was now 69 and his wife Varina, 50. "Brierfield" was now nearly uninhabitable, as negroes had occupied the desolate place for a dozen years.

In the Autumn of 1877 while Mrs. Davis was looking for a haven, Davis finally accepted the invitation of a life-long friend of his wife's, a Mrs. Sarah A. Dorsey, to visit her home on the Gulf Coast. At this time of acceptance little did Davis realize he had found his final home.

II. Beauvoir and the Davis Family, 1877 - 1902.

The home called Beauvoir and later Beauvoir House is located on the Mississippi Gulf Coast approximately 1 mile outside the city limits of Biloxi, Mississippi, on U.S. Highway 90.

In 1879 during his second year at the home Davis purchase the home for $5,500 of which he gave Mrs. Dorsey $3,500 and personal notes for the balance to be paid over a four-year period. With the death of Mrs. Dorsey in 1879 it was found that she had willed Davis all her property. Thus the will cancelled the notes, but as was shown later the notes were used to liquidate Mrs. Dorsey's debts.

The early history of the home shows that it was built by a wealthy Mississippi cotton planter, James Brown, soon after 1850. Upon his death the house was sold and came into the possession of Mrs. Sarah A. Dorsey, wife of a Louisiana cotton planter, who as has been noted sold the house to Davis.

The physical layout of the grounds consists of a large main house set back on the property and flanked on the east and west by two cottages, and an outdoor kitchen built directly behind the main house. The type of architecture in which the house was built is known as the Louisiana Plantation type, a modification of tropical architecture in which the houses are built high above the ground. But Beauvoir House was not actually a plantation because of the topography of the grounds and the type of soil encountered there.

The main house when it was completed was a magnificent showpiece of the period. The architects or builders are not known, but Brown had brought in carpenters and decorators from New Orleans. Within the house there is an entrance hall which extends the length of the house. Off this entrance hall in the front portion of the house are located the front parlor on the left, and a guest room on the right. Towards the rear of the hall is located the back parlor, again on the left, and Winnie Davis' bedroom on the right. On the east side of the house off the back porch is found the dining room, children's breakfast room and butler's pantry where "Uncle Bob" Brown, an old body servant, served the family. On the west side of the house is found Mr. Davis's bedroom and adjoining it is Mrs. Davis's bedroom.

The cottages that flank the house were originally meant as plantation offices but their real purpose was to carry out Brown's original plans for a show place on the Gulf. The cottage on the west side of the property is known as "Hayes Cottage" for

it was here that the Hayes family stayed when visiting their parents. The oldest daughter, Margaret, and her husband, Addison Hayes, were married in Memphis when the Davis family lived there in 1876. Mr. Hayes' health was not robust, and for some reason they thought he might contract or develop tuberculosis so they moved to Colorado Springs, Colorado, where they raised their family. Because her father had no male heir to carry on the family name. Both sons Jefferson Jr. and Joseph had died. Another burden Davis and Lincoln shared. Margaret and her husband therefore consented to the changing of their son's name from Jefferson Addison Hayes to Jefferson Hayes Davis. Margaret died in 1909 and Addison in 1917. Of the children, one son died in infancy at age 3 months, and only Mr. Jefferson Hayes Davis, still residing in Colorado Springs, and his sister, Mrs. Lucy Hayes Young, residing in Red Vale, Colorado, are still living.

The cottage on the east side of the property is known as "The Library" for it was here that Davis stayed as a guest. When the cottage was being prepared for his visit it was also fitted up with a smaller bedroom for Davis's son, Jefferson Davis, Jr., who was later to die in Memphis of yellow fever at the age of 21. He was the last of the Davis sons.

It was here that Davis in 1877 started his "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government". He dictated to one of three hands, Judge Denny, Major Walthall and Mrs. Davis. It was mainly to Mrs. Davis that he gave most of his dictation. Then at 4:00 a.m., nearly three years after his starting of the history, it was completed. In strange contrast to his many hours of work on the history, Davis was not to receive a fitting monetary return. Davis had agreed to receive a royalty only on the cloth bound copies printed and sold, but his publishers came out instead with a leather bound edition and Davis received nothing. Davis had written the history to tell the world of the righteous motives of the South, and it was said that whether the issuing of the history in leather bound copies was deliberate or carelessness on the part of his publishers, Davis was not bitter. He had accomplished his prime purpose.

Varina Ann Davis affectionally known as "Winnie" was born in the Confederate White House in 1864, but did not come to Beauvoir until after she was 15 from Germany where she had been attending school. She was to become the belle among those of her own age group during her years at Beauvoir House. As an illustration of this popularity there is a large portrait of her located in the guest room in the main house as she appeared when the city of New Orleans, in 1892, made her Queen of Comus during their Mardi Gras. This is New Orlean's highest tribute to social charm. During a visit to a friend's house, she met and fell in love with Alfred Wilkinson--a Yankee from New York. In the Fall of 1889 they asked for her father's consent but due to the feelings that were still existing, Davis refused and insisted that Winnie go to Europe. She was never to see her father alive again. The year after Davis's death, Wilkinson and Winnie renewed their courtship and announced their engagement. The shocked protests of their friends and prominent leaders of the Confederacy was their only answer. Old Jube Early blustered that it was a sacrilege, a betrayal of all the principles the South had fought for and its gallant sons had died for during the recent conflict. As a result, Winnie broke off her engagement and was never again to see the man she loved.

At the age of 34, death was Winnie's reward for all the sacrifices she made for the memory of the Confederacy. She died in Narragansett Pier, Rhode Island, after having

THE CIVIL WAR ROUND-TABLE
P.O. BOX 5028, CLEVELAND, OHIO 44101

attended a Confederate reunion in Atlanta, Georgia, at which time she had been caught in a driving rain storm while driving to the reunion. Instead of going back and changing the wet clothing she insisted on staying and greeting the old veterans who adored her as their living symbol. Pneumonia was the result of her negligence to change clothing and the indirect cause of her death.

The death of Winnie was a great shock but it was only another of the many trials and tribulations that Mrs. Davis suffered after the death of her husband. Mrs. Davis had gone to New York to earn her living from writing for New York publishers. While in New York, Mrs. Davis had suffered a heart attack and near the turn of the century she was a confirmed invalid. Many of the diehards of the South accused her of deserting her home in the South. Up to this point Beauvoir House had been closed to occupancy for over five years, and during these ensuing years the financial pressure became too great for her, and she was forced to consider selling the house which had been willed to her by Winnie. Despite her need for income to make secure her declining years Mrs. Davis rejected two handsome offers. One of $90,000 from a Colonel Clay King who wished to turn the home into a hotel, and another from Mr. Lopez whose ultimate plans for the home did not meet her approval. It was a $10,000 offer from the sons of her husband's soldiers to which she finally consented, knowing that her home would become a shrine to the memory of her husband and the South. October 10,1902, the Mississippi Division of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans were deeded Beauvoir House to be perpetually used as a memorial to Jefferson Davis. Mrs. Davis died in 1906 in New York City, and she never returned to the home after its sale in 1902.

III. Death of Jefferson Davis.

In November, 1889, Davis, then 81, made a business trip through a driving rain storm to his old plantation in upstate Mississippi, "Brierfield." Because of his advanced age, Davis succumbed to a severe case of bronchitis and realizing his condition, he was put on a New Orleans bound steamer. In the home of J.U. Payne, a very old and dear friend, Davis died on December 6, 1889. Over 70,000 people visited the bier, located in the New Orleans City Hall until December 10, 1889, when the body was laid at rest temporarily in a vault of the Army of Northern Virginia in Metairie Cemetary. The body was moved to its permanent resting place in Hollywood Cemetary in Richmond, Virginia, over the Memorial Day period of 1893. The request for the removal came from Mrs. Davis and the L & N Railroad placed a special train at the disposal of the family for the movement of the body. For the complete three days the train moved through the heart of the South there was that silence that is due to only the great in heart and mind. At Beauvoir House the track past the home was covered for 300 yards by flowers picked and placed there by the children of the coast.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to extend my sincere thanks to Mrs. Salome Brady, director of the Jefferson Davis Shrine in Biloxi, Mississippi, for her invaluable assistance and courteous suggestions.

THE CIVIL WAR ROUND-TABLE

P. O. BOX 5028, CLEVELAND, OHIO 44101

THE LAST HOME OF JEFFERSON DAVIS

BEAUVOIR

On the night of August 17, and the early morning of the 18, 1969, the most vicious and powerful storm ever to step on the American Continent devastated the Mississippi Gulf Coast for 50 miles. Many areas were virtually destroyed.

Beauvoir, the last home of Jefferson Davis, the first and only President of The Confederate States of America, located between Gulfport and Biloxi, came through the catastrophe with only the house virtually intact.

The Superintendent's home, administration building, Confederate Barracks, Old Chapel, Office in the yard (where Davis wrote the "Rise & Fall of The Confederate Government"), Library (thousands of books and manuscripts, grounds, museum under the house, houses on the back lot and Confederate Cemetry, were all badly damaged or destroyed --damage estimated at $500,000.

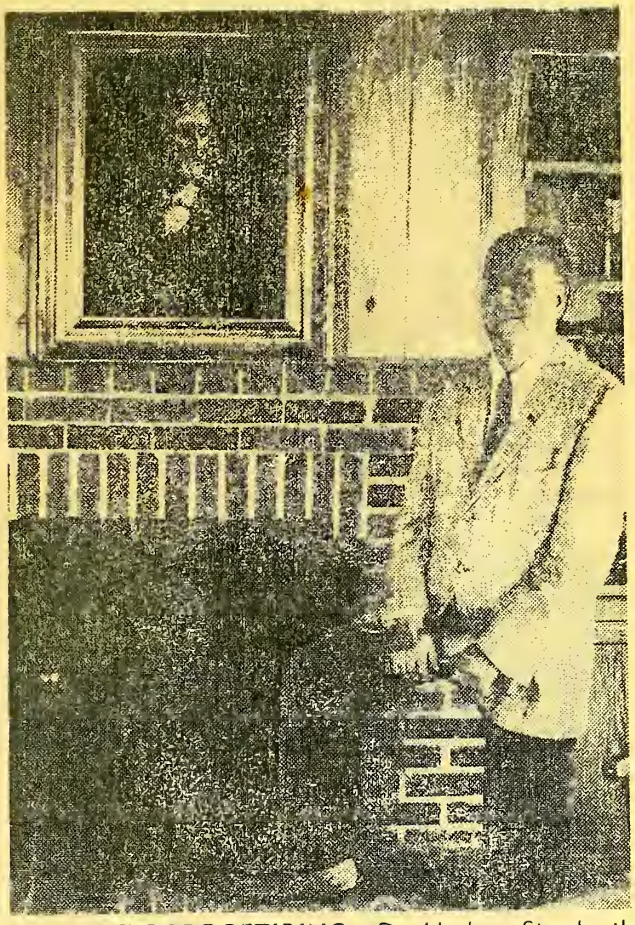
For many years the home and grounds have been maintained as a historical shrine by the Mississippi Division, Sons of Confederate Veterans organization, through a Shrine Board elected by them. It has been opened to the public and was well on the way to having an attendance, this year, of in excess of 70,000, when the storm struck.

With these devastating facts in mind I would personally like to call upon the membership of the Cleveland Civil War Roundtable to open their hearts and checkbooks so we may help restore this historical shrine to its former prominence. My interest goes beyond that of a student of Civil War history as I had the pleasure of living within two miles of this lovely home while serving with the United State Air Force. During my three year stay in Biloxi I came to know Mrs Salome Brady who to this day is guiding force behind this historical shrine. Although in her 70's no one can not find a more devoted servant to her duty.

Most of the destruction, mentioned, could be restored with the proper response from the public in the way of cash donations. Won't you please help? I intend to personally call all members of our Round Table for a donation no matter how large or small. Please be generous when you get my call or use the bottom of this note to return your donation promptly. It is a tax-deductible gift.

I wish to donate $_____ to the Civil War Round Table of Cleveland Beauvoir Restoration Fund. Please find enclosed my cash, check or money order (circle one). Please make out all checks to the Civil War Round Table of Cleveland and mark on the check in the lower right hand corner "For Beauvoir Restoration".

I understand that this note will be returned to me for my records when the donation is recived by the Round Table.



DR. STRODE RETIRING—Dr. Hudsan Strade, the University af Alabama's internationally renawed author and teacher of creative writing, is retiring from the faculty. He is shown in his study before a replica of a portrait af Jefferson Davis painted by Daniel Huntington in 1874 and which hangs in the Pentagon. (Photo by Camelle Elebash).

Renowned Writer Dr. Hudson Strode Retiring From UA

BY GEORGE COOK
Post-Herald State Editor

UNIVERSITY, May 29—One of the illustrious double careers o Dr. Hudson Strode will close with the end of the current semeste at the University of Alabama.

Dr. Strode, who nurtured an uncounted number of novelists t fruition in his advanced fiction writing class at the Capstone, i retiring from the faculty after teaching for 47 years.

However, he will continue his own writing which has won him as much praise over the world as his "knack" for bringing out that ability in others.

The word "knack" in describing his talent to develop novelists is his own.

The London Times once described his advanced creative writing class as "phenomenally successful."

Accident

Shakespeare was and is Dr. Strode's first love. And his establishment of an advanced creative writing class in the 1930s began quite by accident.

A student, Harriet Hassell of Northport, asked him to teach such a class.

"I told her I did not think anyone could be taught to write fiction," he said.

Nevertheless, he undertook the task and the result was "Rachel's Children."

"It's never been exceeded by any writer in my class," he said.

Dr. Strode has on his library shelves copies of every book published by each of his students—some of them in foreign editions.

He does not know the number of fiction writers developed in his classes.

"I've never counted them," he said.

Two Short Stories

Dr. Strode attempted to write fiction only early in his career—two short stories which "I sold to high brow magazines. I don't think I had the talent to write fiction."

Nevertheless his non - fiction—"Timeless Mexico," "Now in Mexico," "South by Thunderbird," "Finland Forever," "The Pageant of Cuba," "Sweden: Model for a World", and "Denmark Is a Lovely Land" won impressive reviews from the country's top critics.

And Dr. Strode is now reaching an apex in his own writing career in his authorship of a trilogy on the life of Confederate President Jefferson Davis.

Two volumes already have been puhlished and the third—"Jeffer son Davis: Tragic Hero" — i scheduled for sale in 1964. Dr Strode plans "to take a rest fror writing this Summer."

Dr. Strode has written—and re written three times—each of hi books except the first in longhan on a lapboard since 1933.

His wife, Therese, does the typ ing.

"I couldn't have done it with out her," he said.

He works in a studio apart fron his home in Cherokee Hills in su burban Tuscaloosa.

There and in his home, he i surrounded by the memorabilia o a busy and fascinating lifetime.

Friends

His mementoes include an autc graphed picture of Gustav VI o Sweden, who knighted him in No vember, 1960, pictures of Sigri Undset, Norwegian novelis and Nobel prize winner; Vis countess Astor, born Nancy Lang horne in Virginia, first woman t be elected to the British Parlia ment; Ex-President Lazaro Car denas of Mexico and many others

But just as important to hin are friends such as Tom Martin chairman of the Alabama Powe Co., and Episcopal Bishop Georg Murray of Birmingham.

Reared and educated in Demop olis, Dr. Strode was graduate from the University of Alabama i 1913.

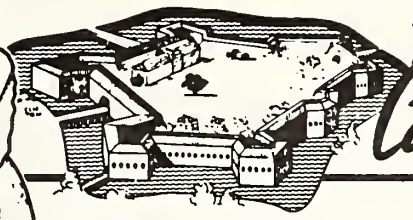
He then went to Columbia fo graduate study and supporte himself with walk-on parts in the ater with Sir Johnston Forbes Robertson, the greatest Shake spearean actor of his time.

After a stint of study at Har vard and teaching at Syracus University, Dr. Strode returned t the University of Alabama in 191 as an associate professor of Eng lish.

Although he had many later op portunities to leave, he alway chose to remain at the Capstone

Anywhere he has gone, he saic "I have always been proud to ad to my name, "professor of En lish, University of Alabama U.S.A."

Fort Wayne
Journal Gazette



FORT MONROE
Casemate MUSEUM

JEFFERSON DAVIS
CASEMATE
MONITOR & MERRIMACK CASEMATE

A CASEMATE IS A CHAMBER IN THE WALL OF A FORT

FORT MONROE CASEMATE MUSEUM
Box 341
Fort Monroe, Virginia 23351

MUSEUM BULLETIN 1972

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THE CAPTURE OF JEFFERSON DAVIS

After the surrender of General Lee, Jefferson Davis fled with the Confederate Government in a southwesterly direction across Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina and Georgia. His aim was to reach Texas, where he could take command of still intact troops and continue the war. However, the Confederacy was beginning to crumble. At some places, it was even difficult to obtain overnight lodging for President Davis and the members of the Cabinet. Most of the latter began to lose heart and take their departure. The 3,000 Confederate cavalry escorting the Government grew restless at the thought of becoming homeless wanderers in Texas or Mexico. The President had them paid off and discharged at Washington, Georgia. He then pushed on further south with a handful of still faithful followers, including his Postmaster General, John H. Reagan of Texas, the only Cabinet member remaining with him.

It was this little band which was captured early on the morning of May 10, 1865, near Irwinville, Georgia, by men of the Fourth Michigan Cavalry under command of Lieutenant Colonel Benjamin D. Pritchard. The prisoners were taken to Macon, Georgia, a march of about three days. Even before they had reached Macon, a report was sent from that place stating that Jefferson Davis had been captured in his wife's clothes. This report appeared in all the newspapers of the country. To the end of their lives, Mr. and Mrs. Davis maintained that this story was false. It has been a subject of controversy ever since. However, it was impossible to settle this bitter debate, because the garments in question were not available for examination and study. They had been taken away from Mrs. Davis at Fort Monroe and sent to Washington, D. C., where they were sequestered.

Some years ago, the curator of the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum took up the trail of these mysterious garments. He not only found out where they were, but he was eventually able to get authentic photographs of them. On November 14, 1972, the curator presented his findings to the CIVIL WAR ROUND TABLE OF ATLANTA, GEORGIA, in the very state where Jefferson Davis was captured. It was a keen pleasure to address this distinguished and knowledgeable audience, which included such Civil War scholars as DR. BELL I. WILEY, Head, Department of History, Emory University; DR. WILLARD WIGHT of the history department of Georgia Tech; COLONEL JAMES G. BOGLE, Georgia State Historical Commission; MR. J. HARMON SMITH and MR. DEAN EVANS of the Georgia Department of Archives and History; MR. FRANKLIN GARRETT, Secretary, Atlanta Historical Society; COLONEL ALLAN JULIAN; MR. TOM S. DICKEY; MR. GEORGE LIDELL; and MR. HOLCOMB T. GREEN. Also present were MAJOR GENERAL GEORGE T. DUNCAN, Assistant Director, Yerkes Regional Primate Research Center, Emory University, and MRS. DUNCAN, who are long-time friends of the Casemate Museum. This being the curator's first visit to Atlanta, he was taken on a tour of this great city by MR. CECIL R. STOCKARD, SR., the able president of the Atlanta Civil War Round Table.

A GOOD YEAR AT THE CASEMATE MUSEUM

Our electronic counter showed that almost 68,000 persons visited the Casemate Museum during the year 1972. They came from all over the United States, from Canada, Mexico and from all the continents of the world. They included a certain number of dignitaries, both domestic and foreign, but in general our visitors represented a cross section of the population. Visitors still come spontaneously into the museum office to compliment us on the improvements we made in 1969. The most frequent remark is, "It is beautiful!" One visitor from Atlanta, Georgia, made a remark about the exhibits, which was very interesting to us. He said that as one goes through the museum, the story of Fort Monroe seems to "unfold."

THE RETURN OF THE NATIVE

In June 1972, the curator went to visit a relative in WABASH, INDIANA. He had left his native town as a boy many years before. He did not expect to be recognized or remarked. Consequently, he was pleasantly surprised when he was invited to have lunch with a rather large number of prominent citizens, most of whom were members of the WABASH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. It appears that the leading instigators of this delightful luncheon were MR. GEORGE DINGLEDY and MR. JAMES VAN BUSKIRK. The next day, June 16, the Wabash PLAIN DEALER carried an excellent story and photograph about the curator and the Casemate Museum. One of Wabash's chief claims to fame is that it was the first town to install electric lights (March 31, 1880). These were four arc lights, which were suspended from the tower of the courthouse. Wabash is also proud of the Honeywell Center, a gift of the late MARK C. HONEYWELL, native of Wabash, industrialist, philanthropist and pioneer in temperature control. The instrument firm founded by him in Wabash now has branches and manufacturing plants all over the world.

COUNCIL ON ABANDONED MILITARY POSTS, U. S. A., INC.

This nation-wide organization of history enthusiasts came to Fort Monroe on November 18, 1972, with a twofold purpose: to visit Fort Wool and to present a certificate of commendation to the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum. After touring the museum, the party, numbering about 70, was ferried over to Fort Wool by the city of Hampton. That evening the organization was the host at a dinner in the Fort Monroe Officers Club. This dinner was honored by the presence of GENERAL RALPH E. HAINES, JR., Commander, Continental Army Command, who accepted the certificate commending the Casemate Museum from COLONEL WILLIAM STROBRIDGE, Capital Area President of CAMP, as the council is designated for short.

BLACK HISTORY AT FORT MONROE

Ever since 1954, the Casemate Museum has had an exhibit on black history, GENERAL BUTLER AND THE CONTRABANDS, which was designed by the curator. It was here at Fort Monroe that General Butler issued his famous contraband-of-war dictum, which

resulted in the liberation of thousands upon thousands of black people one and one-half years before the issuance of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. The first enlistments of black men in the Union Navy took place at Fort Monroe in the summer of 1861. At least twelve black regiments of the Union Army served in the area commanded from Fort Monroe between 1863 and 1865. Students from HAMPTON INSTITUTE expressed to us the desire for supplementary information for their studies in black history. In April 1972 we brought out an eight-page pamphlet entitled HIGHLIGHTS OF BLACK HISTORY AT FORT MONROE, with six illustrations and a bibliography, at a price of ten cents. It can be purchased at the sales counter of the Casemate Museum, or by sending ten cents to the FORT MONROE CASEMATE MUSEUM, Box 341, Fort Monroe, Virginia 23351.

235,000 HOURS OF WORK!

In November 1972, a good friend of the Casemate Museum in France, MONSIEUR GASTON PEUCHET, was awarded "la médaille d'Honneur Argent et Vermeil du Travail." The presentation was made by the Sous-Préfet of Vichy, MONSIEUR GEORGES RICCI. Monsieur Peuchet was born in the famous cathedral city of Reims in 1885. He went to work in 1898 as an apprentice-machinist, rising to managerial status. He served a number of terms in the city council. In 1931, he removed to Vichy, where he eventually became director of the Société d'Initiative-Office de Tourisme et de Thermalisme (the equivalent of an American chamber of commerce). He retired from this position three years ago. Hale and hearty at the age of eighty-seven, Monsieur Peuchet has figured out that during his years of employment, extending from 1898 to 1969, he put in a total of 235,000 hours of work. On top of all this, he has devoted innumerable hours to volunteer work of a civic, cultural and benevolent nature. In addition to his many other honors, Monsieur Peuchet is a chevalier of the Legion of Honor.

THREE GENERATIONS AT FORT MONROE

JAMES WARE came to Fort Monroe in 1862 as a blacksmith in the Arsenal, which was in Building 27 at the corner of Ingalls Road and Hatch Lane. He later was transferred to the Engineer department. Ware lived on the post, raising a family of five boys and five girls. For many years he was Superintendent of Fortifications. He died on the job aged over ninety years in 1930. One of his sons, JAMES E. WARE, also worked in the Engineer department until his transfer about 1905 to the office of the District Engineer in Norfolk. The son of James E. Ware, ARTHUR PAGE WARE, went to work in the Engineer department at Fort Story, but in 1940 he was transferred to Fort Monroe, where he lived in Building 147 on Engineers Lane. Thus, Arthur Page Ware became the third generation of the Ware family to live and work at Fort Monroe. Today he lives at Virginia Beach. The Casemate Museum is open from 8 A.M. to 5 P.M. every day of the year including weekends and holidays. Admission is free, the museum being commemorative and educational. It is a United States Army Museum operated in accordance with Army Regulation 870-5.

Dr. Chester D. Bradley
Museum Curator
FORT MONROE CASEMATE MUSEUM

Fort Wayne
Journal Gazette

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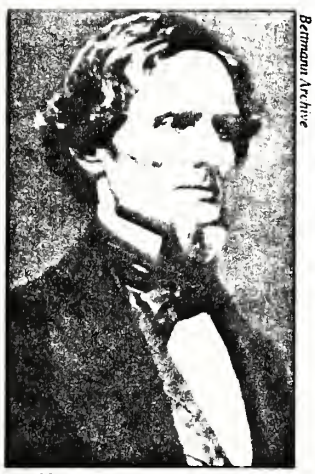
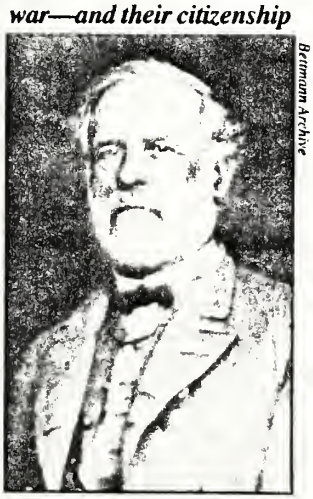
Men Without a Country

Confederate President Jefferson Davis and Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee both died as men without a country. The Southern leaders were denied United States citizenship after the end of the Civil War and did not regain it until more than 100 years later.



Bettmann Archive

Jefferson Davis (above) and Robert E. Lee, who lost the war—and their citizenship



Bettmann Archive

Neither Davis nor Lee was eligible for the general amnesty that was declared by President Abraham Lincoln in December 1863. After the war, President Andrew Johnson made it still tougher to gain a pardon. Davis, however, was not interested in a pardon, even after completing his prison term.

Lee, on the other hand, did want to rejoin the Union and work to rebuild the defeated South. He sent President Johnson the oath of allegiance to the Constitution, which was required for a special pardon. Unfortunately, his oath was lost — or perhaps Johnson simply ignored it. Lee died, still a noncitizen, in 1870. A century later, researcher Elmer Parker discovered the misplaced oath in a cardboard box at the National Archives.

Finally, after more than 100 years of neglect, the two Confederate leaders were given back their citizenship through special resolutions of Congress. Citizenship was granted to Lee on July 22, 1975, and to Davis on Oct. 17, 1978.

Lincoln Lore

March, 1977 Bulletin of The Lincoln National Life Foundation...Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Published each month by The Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801. Number 1669

The Contents of Lincoln's Pockets at Ford's Theatre

On February 12, 1976, the Library of Congress revealed the contents of the "mystery box" containing the contents of Abraham Lincoln's pockets the night he was assassinated. The dramatic timing of the announcement — on Lincoln's birthday in the nation's bicentennial year — led to its being widely noted in the press. All over the nation people read that Lincoln had carried a pair of gold-rimmed spectacles engraved by their donor Ward Hill Lamon, another pair of folding spectacles in a silver case, an ivory pocket knife, a fancy watch fob, a large white Irish linen handkerchief with his name embroidered on it in red cross-stich, an initialed sleeve button, and a brown leather wallet. The wallet proved to contain probably the most startling item, a five-dollar Confederate note, and nine old newspaper clippings. The newspaper clippings were dismissed in the news releases with little comment beyond saying that the President could perhaps be forgiven for the minor vanity of carrying old adulatroy news items in his pockets.

None of the accounts of the opening which I read — and I read several because I happened to be travelling across the country at the time and saw several different newspapers — bothered to recount even the titles of the articles from Lincoln's wallet. Curiosity was too much to bear, and I wrote the Library of Congress to find out what the articles said. They

DON'T SWAP HORSES.

JOHN BULL. "Why don't you ride the other Horse a bit? He's the best Animal."

BROTHER JONATHAN. "Well, that may be; but the fact is, OLD ABE is just where I can put my finger on him; and as for the other—though they say he's some when out in the scrub yonder—I never know where to find him."

From the Linclon National Life Foundation

FIGURE 1. John Bright was of a different mind, but most Americans assumed that most Englishmen, like John Bull in this 1864 cartoon from *Harper's Weekly,* supported McClellan rather than Lincoln in the election of 1864.

From the Lincln National Life Foundation

Ward Beecher (1813-1887) was
nspicuous clergyman of his day.

otographs of seven of the articles; two
o be taken to the photographer, ap-

hen I received the photographs. Con-
ı led to believe by the press coverage,
were merely pieces of praise for the
e, though they were not critical, dealt
subjects. Presumably, we may inter-
ndications of some of the problems
sident during the last year of his ad-
e wrong to place too much emphasis
Lincoln retained them so long (none of
a newspaper printed immediately be-
He was a man of notoriously disor-
e filing system as a lawyer had con-
l papers tied together with a note writ-
ı can't find it anywhere else look in
enough initial interest to clip the ar-
n them in his wallet once given them

te the sort of praise which the Presi-
ne clippings contained nothing but
praise came from two quarters where
ı popular in the past. An account of
address at the Academy of Music in
strong a hold the President has upon
ghout the loyal North." Beecher had
ials in 1862 which were, from his own
ure of a mowing-machine — they cut
nd I was told one day that the Presi-
ı and read them through with very
d that his only criticism was: 'Is thy
ore down on him very hard." Things
64, and Beecher told his Philadelphia
prosecution of the war had been effec-
tive. When an incidental mention of Andrew Jackson seemed to bring forth audience interest, Beecher exploited his opening by saying, "Abraham Lincoln may be a great deal less testy and wilful than Andrew Jackson, but in a long race, I do not know but that he will be equal to him." This was followed by a "storm of applause" which "seemed as if it never would cease." Philadelphia would go for Lincoln in the election of 1864, but Beecher had sensed the campaign strategy which would work in this negrophobic home of General McClellan. The stress would have to be put on Lincoln's Jacksonian qualities as a stern and uncompromising foe of separatism. The election would not be a referendum on the popularity of emancipation and the Republican platform's commitment to the Thirteenth Amendment — if it could be avoided.

A large photograph of John Bright, the British liberal, hung in the anteroom of Lincoln's office in the White House. Doubtless, the President was gratified to read the clipping about "John Bright on the Presidency." In a letter written to Horace Greeley before the election of 1864, Bright observed that "those of my countrymen who have wished well to the rebellion, who have hoped for the break-up of your Union, who have preferred to see a Southern Slave Empire rather than a restored and free Republic, . . . are now in favor of the election of Gen. McClellan." On the other hand, "those who have deplored the calamities which the leaders of secession have brought upon your country, who believe that Slavery weakens your power and tarnishes your good name throughout the world, and who regard the restoration of your Union as a thing to be desired and prayed for by all good men, . . . are heartily longing for the re-election of Mr. Lincoln." Lincoln's election would prove that republican countries could survive "through the most desperate perils."

Lincoln seems to have been taking a keen interest in the state of Confederate morale. Two of the clippings dealt with this subject. Both carried the news that disaffection among the Confederate soldiers was high. "The Disaffection Among the Southern Soldiers" republished a letter from the *Toledo Blade* which had been "picked up in the streets of Brandon, Mississippi, by Captain Dinnis, of the 62nd Ohio Regiment." Dated July 16, 1863, the letter complained of "the vacillating policy and hollow promises" by which the soldiers had been "duped so long." With no provisions prepared along the route of retreat, the army was moving slowly. The Confederates paroled at Vicksburg were deserting. "The negro emancipation policy," the letter continued, "at which we so long hooted, is the most potent lever of our overthrow. It steals upon us unawares, and ere we can do anything the plantations are deserted, families without servants, camps without necessary attendants, women and children in want and misery. In short, the disadvantages to us now arising from the negroes are tenfold greater than have been all the advantages derived from earlier in the war." Certainly, this was welcome vindication of Lincoln's policy of emancipation, which had been justified precisely on the grounds that it would weaken the Southern war effort.

"A Conscript's Epistle to Jeff. Davis" shows the President's interests in rather a different light. This article also purported to reprint a captured Confederate letter, but the letter was much more satirical in tone and surely spoke in part at least to Lincoln's love for rough humor. Addressing the Confederate President as "Jeff., Red Jacket of the Gulf, and Chief of the Six Nations," one Norman Harold of Ashe County, North Carolina, expressed his desire to desert the "adored trinity" of the Confederacy, "cotton, niggers, and chivalry." He denounced Davis in mock-monarchical-reverence as the "Czar of all Chivalry and Khan of Cotton Tartary," as "the illegitimate son of a Kentucky horse-thief," and as the "bastard President of a political abortion." In the end he expressed the "exquisite joy" which the soldiers would express when Davis "shall have reached that eminent meridian whence all progress is perpendicular." Surely Lincoln found in all this exaggerated bombast some gratification that his Confederate counterpart would bear the burden of outrageous vilification that Lincoln himself had on occasion to bear. Here were the same accusations of monarchical pretensions. And here were the same doubts of proper Kentucky paternity. It must have been reassuring to find that this was the token of partisan discontent and not the result of reasoned and careful

research into the biographical backgrounds of Presidents.

Lincoln also carried with him "Sherman's Orders For His March," a straightforward reprinting of the military commander's outline for his campaign. Lincoln must have realized the great importance of these orders, which constituted the beginnings of a new era in military history. General Sherman carefully instructed his army that there would be "no general trains of supplies," but each regiment would have only "one wagon and one ambulance." Each brigade would have behind it "a due proportion of ammunition wagons, provision wagons and ambulances," but the army was obviously going to travel light, for they were to "start habitually at seven a. m., and make about fifteen miles per day." To do this, the general said, the "army will forage liberally on the country during the march. To this end, each brigade commander will organize a good and sufficient foraging party, under the command of one or more discreet officers, who will gather near the route traveled corn or forage of any kind, meat of any kind, vegetables, corn meal, or whatever is needed by the command; aiming at all times to keep in the wagon trains at least ten days provisions for the command and three days forage." Sherman enjoined certain restraints upon his men: "Soldiers must not enter the dwellings of the inhabitants or commit any trespass; during the halt or a camp they may be permitted to gather turnips, potatoes and other vegetables, and drive in stock in front of their camps. To regular foraging parties must be entrusted the gathering of provisions and forage at any distance from the road traveled." Nevertheless, Sherman directly ordered the wholesale destruction of economically useful property in hostile districts:

> V. To army corps commanders is entrusted the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton gins, &c., and for them this general principle is laid down: In districts and neighborhoods where the army is unmolested, no destruction of such property should be permitted; but should guerillas or bushwhackers molest our march, or should the inhabitants burn bridges, obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostility, then army corps commanders should order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of such hostility.

Sherman's orders even embodied a political interpretation of the nature of the conflict when they allowed the cavalry and artillery to "appropriate freely and without limit" the horses, mules, and wagons of the inhabitants — "discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor or industrious, usually neutral or friendly," Again, he urged restraint. "In all foraging," he said, "of whatever kind, the parties engaged will refrain from abusive or threatening language, and may when the officer in command thinks proper, give written certificates of the facts, but no receipts; and they will endeavor to leave with each family a reasonable portion for their maintenance." There was no sentimentality in his provisions for coping with live contraband: "Negroes who are able-bodied and can be of service to the several columns, may be taken along; but each army commander will bear in mind that the question of supplies is a very important one, and that his first duty is to see to those who bear arms." Clearly, President Lincoln understood the nature of Sherman's epoch-making campaign well and did more than fret over whether the general would be cut off and surrounded by his bold move.

Even as late as 1864, President Lincoln remained preoccupied with the problems of the Border States and, in particular, of Missouri. Two of the clippings dealt with Missouri. "The Message of the Governor of Missouri" defended Governor Hamilton R. Gamble from charges of "copperheadism or disloyalty." Not only did his message pledge him *"to support the Government with all our energies in its endeavors to suppress the rebellion in other States,"* but he also accepted a recent Ordinance of Emancipation "as a measure that will, in a brief period, *accomplish the great object to be attained in making Missouri* A FREE STATE." He also encouraged the emigration of free laborers from Europe. "If Governor GAMBLE were a Kentuckian," the newspaper remarked, "we should think him a very sound Union man. We do not know but he would be charged with being an 'Abolitionist.'" This article contained some praise for the President, because it condemned radicals who charged him with deserting the cause of freedom for not giving in to "demands of the radicals that seemed intolerant and obtrusive." The article concluded: "The charge is unfounded and absurd. Doubtless he would rejoice as heartily as any radical, at the speedy abolition of slavery in Missouri, but he is not disposed to encourage excesses that might damage the good cause itself."

Some of the reasons for the dispute over emancipation policy in Missouri are readily apparent in another clipping from Lincoln's wallet, "Emancipation in Missouri." This article simply printed the Ordinance of Emancipation passed by the Missouri State Convention. Slavery was to end in Missouri on July 4, 1870. On that day all slaves in the state were to be free, "Provided, however, that all persons emancipated by this ordinance shall remain under the control and be subject to their late owners, or their legal representatives, as servants during the following period, to wit: Those over forty years of age, for and during their lives; those under twelve until they arrive at the age of twenty-three; and those of all other ages until the 4th of July, 1876." "Apprenticeship" was the term which was used to describe the nature of the proposed relationship between Missouri's "freedmen" and their "former" masters. However, we sometimes forget how limited a form of freedom apprenticeships can be because we use the term "apprentice" today to mean little more than "understudy." The Missouri Ordinance of Emancipation drew a good deal harsher picture: "The persons, or their legal representatives, who, up to the moment of emancipation, were owners of slaves hereby freed, shall, during the period for which the services of such freedmen are reserved to them, have the same authority and control over the said freedmen for the purpose of receiving the possessions and services of the same that are now held by the masters in respect of his slaves; provided, however, that after the said 4th of July, 1870, no person so held to service shall be sold to non-residents or removed from the state by authority of his late owner or his legal representative." In fact, then, those forty years old and above forever, children until the age of twenty-three, and everyone for at least six

From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 3. John Bright (1811-1889) was a British liberal whose letters to Charles Sumner were read to President Lincoln.

years after 1870, would be serfs who could not earn the product of the sweat of their brows and whose only rights were (1) the right not to be sold to non-Missourians and (2) the right not to be removed from Missouri by their masters.

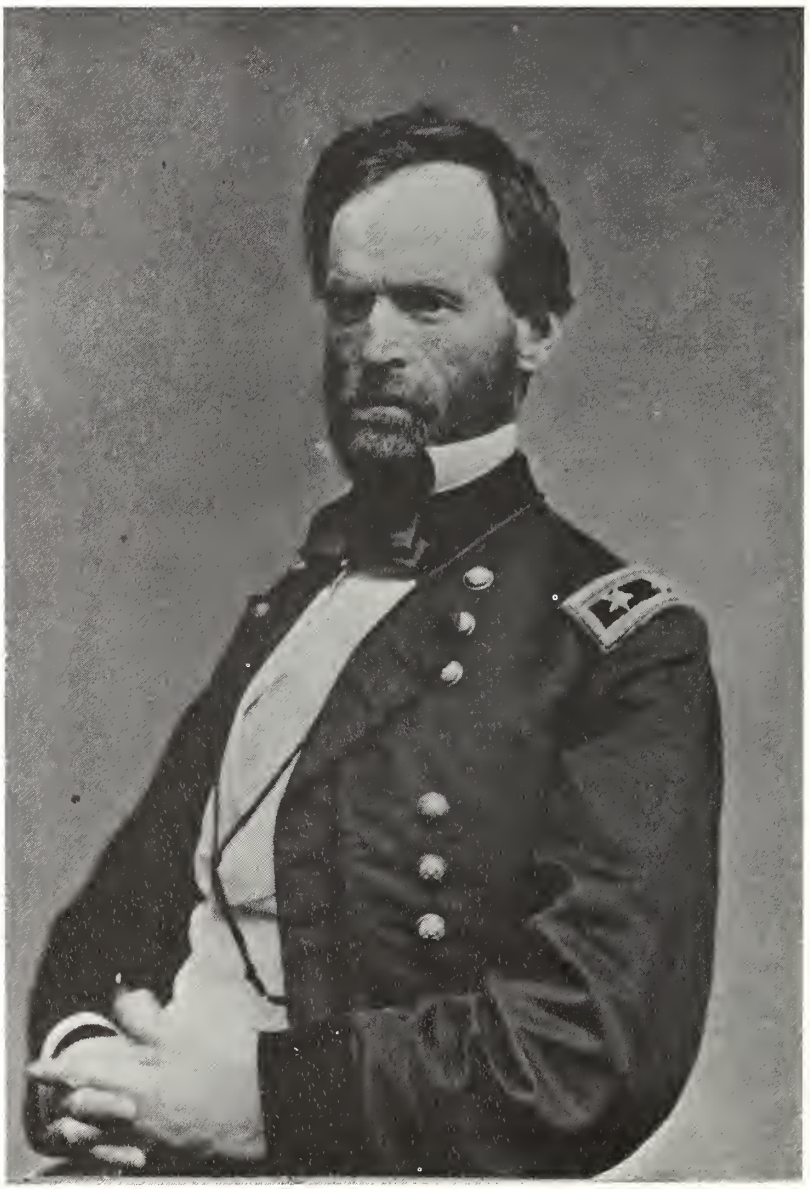
The Ordinance of Emancipation was basically Governor Gamble's plan. It was opposed by more radical Missourians who were called "Charcoals" for obvious reasons. Gamble led the opposing "Claybank" faction, so called because they were supposedly the occupants of colorless middle ground on the hot political question of slavery. Though there were some who were more conservative than Gamble — "Snowflakes," who thought slavery could somehow survive the war in Missouri, and Frank Blair, who still longed for the impossible dream of colonization, Gamble's was the conservative faction in Missouri politics at this time. It was little wonder that radical critics found his emancipation plan less than satisfactory, for it offered freedom to no one in less than twelve years from the date of the Ordinance (1864). Charcoals, though they preferred January 1, 1864 as the date of emancipation, were willing to settle for November 1, 1866. In the end, the political situation changed in Missouri, and slavery was abolished in the state in January of 1865.

Although it is true that none of the clippings was critical of President Lincoln and that all could be construed in some way as praise for him or as testimony to the success of his policies, it seems inadequate to dismiss these interesting clippings as the tokens and badges of a harmless Presidential vanity. The contents of these articles can help to illuminate the preoccupations of the mind of one of America's least confiding Presidents.

This was a man who especially valued the hard-won praise of his sometime critics. This was a man who realized the value of international opinion and who, despite his provincial background, cared for the opinions of the great world beyond the borders of the United States.

In 1864, as always, Lincoln was a man preoccupied with politics and social questions. These clippings did not contain gems of helpful political philosophy or religious musings. They show the President to have been preoccupied with what historians like James G. Randall, Reinhard Luthin, and David Donald have said he was preoccupied with, the realities of politics and power — the strength of the Confederacy, the success of his emancipation policy, and the never-ending factional problems of Missouri politics. This was a politician's wallet, and all we can tell of his personality from the nature of the articles is that he liked humor.

It would strain these materials too much to argue with any certainty that they show us the way the President's mind was leaning near the end of his life. Still, we cannot ignore the bearing of these articles on some of the great questions of Lincolniana. When Lincoln discussed gradual emancipation with Confederate representatives at Hampton Roads in February of 1865, did he by any chance have something as leisurely as Missouri's plan in mind? When he allowed himself to think of states of quasi-freedom like apprenticeship as sequels to slavery, was he thinking of anything as restrictive as Missouri's plan of apprenticeship? Was Lincoln's conception of warfare clearly that of Sherman as described with such clarity and force in that General's orders for the march through Georgia? Was Lincoln not fully cognizant of the extent to which the war-nurtured passions of the North would demand some psychological satisfactions from Jefferson Davis, the "Czar of Chivalry," and the rich Southerners who allegedly led the poor and industrious Southerners into a war they cared nothing about? All of the questions of Reconstruction seem to burn through these pages with an intensity and brightness that makes clear that these questions surely were the major preoccupations of the President in 1864. The atmosphere of the Hampton Roads Peace Conference and of the early period of Reconstruction with their preoccupations with sequels to slavery and the problems of dealing with the former Confederate leaders is already in these worn fragments of newspaper articles which were found in the wallet of a President released at last from turmoil and strife on April 15, 1865.

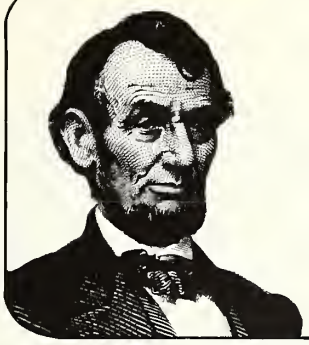


From the Lincoln National Life Foundation

FIGURE 4. General William Tecumseh Sherman (1820-1891) forbade pillaging by his soldiers when he was in command around Memphis in 1862. His decision to march through Georgia late in 1864 in order to attack the South's only untouched base of supply, Georgia, launched him to international fame. By taking the war to the civilian economy rather than simply to the lives of soldiers, he wrenched war out of its eighteenth-century assumptions and pushed it towards the twentieth century.

Editor's Note. I wish to thank Mrs. Mary C. Lethbridge, Information Officer of the Library of Congress, for supplying us with photographs of the clippings in Lincoln's wallet.

J. Duane Squires of New London, New Hampshire, has caught two errors in *Lincoln Lore.* In Number 1664, Senator Hale was from New Hampshire not Maine. In Number 1667, Adams was a "Minister" not an "Ambassador," a title not created until 1893.



Lincoln Lore

January, 1980

Bulletin of the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. Mark E. Neely, Jr., Editor. Mary Jane Hubler, Editorial Assistant. Published each month by the Lincoln National Life Insurance Company, Fort Wayne, Indiana 46801.

LINCOLN AND SLAVERY: AN OVERVIEW

Abraham Lincoln was a native of a slave state, Kentucky. In 1811 Hardin County, where Lincoln was born two years before, contained 1,007 slaves and 1,627 white males above the age of sixteen. His father's brother Mordecai owned a slave. His father's Uncle Isaac may have owned over forty slaves. The Richard Berry family, with whom Lincoln's mother Nancy Hanks lived before her marriage to Thomas Lincoln, owned slaves. Thomas and Nancy Lincoln, however, were members of a Baptist congregation which had separated from another church because of opposition to slavery. This helps explain Lincoln's statement in 1864 that he was "naturally anti-slavery" and could "not remember when I did not so think, and feel." In 1860 he claimed that his father left Kentucky for Indiana's free soil "partly on account of slavery."

Nothing in Lincoln's political career is inconsistent with his claim to have been "naturally anti-slavery." In 1836, when resolutions came before the Illinois House condemning abolitionism, declaring that the Constitution sanctified the right of property in slaves, and denying the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, Lincoln was one of six to vote against them (seventy-seven voted in favor). Near the end of the term, March 3, 1837, Lincoln and fellow Whig Dan Stone wrote a protest against the resolutions which stated that "the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy." It too denounced abolitionism as more likely to exacerbate than abate the evils of slavery and asserted the right of Congress to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia (though the right should not be exercised without the consent of the District's citizens). Congress, of course, had no right to interfere with slavery in the states. In 1860 Lincoln could honestly point to the consistency of his antislavery convictions over the last twenty-three years. That early protest "briefly defined his position on the slavery question; and so far as it goes, it was then the same that it is now."

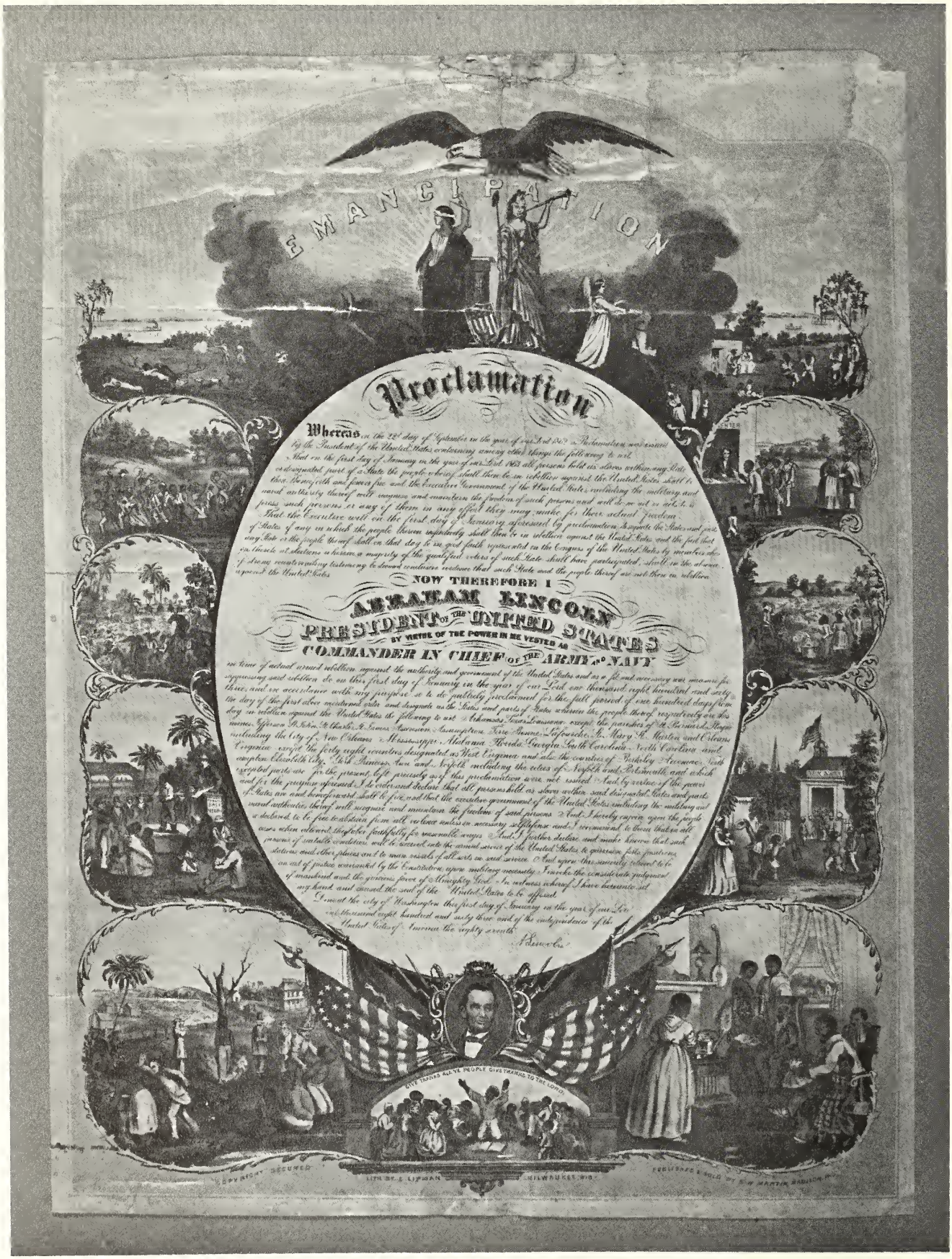
In his early political career in the 1830s and 1840s, Lincoln had faith in the benign operation of American political institutions. Though "opposed to slavery" throughout the period, he "rested in the hope and belief that it was ultimate extinction." For that reason, it was c question" to him. For the sake of keeping the na Lincoln thought it "a paramount duty" to leave states alone. He never spelled out the basis entirely, but he had confidence that the cour seeking to approximate the ideals of the D Independence. All men would be free when slav to the areas where it already existed, exhau became unprofitable, and was abolished by the states themselves or perhaps by numerou emancipations. Reaching this goal, perhaps by century, required of dutiful politicians only "th never knowingly lend ourselves directly or prevent . . . slavery from dying a natural death places for it to live in, when it can no longer exi This statement, made in 1845, expressed Linc concern over the a Texas, where sla existed. As a during the Me Lincoln supporte Proviso becaus prevent the grow in parts of the Me where the institu already exist considered slaver ing" question, on destroy America's in popular gov politicians were and agrivate" i seeking to expand attack it in the st

Lincoln became worried around 1 read John C. denunciations of tion of Independe read a similar den a Virginia clergyn more upset. S undermined his because they show Americans did approach the id Declaration of I for some, they we ideals at all. But t statements of a so interested in the of the institution, did not becon alarmed to aggrav question. He beg lose interest in po

The passage of Douglas's Kansas-

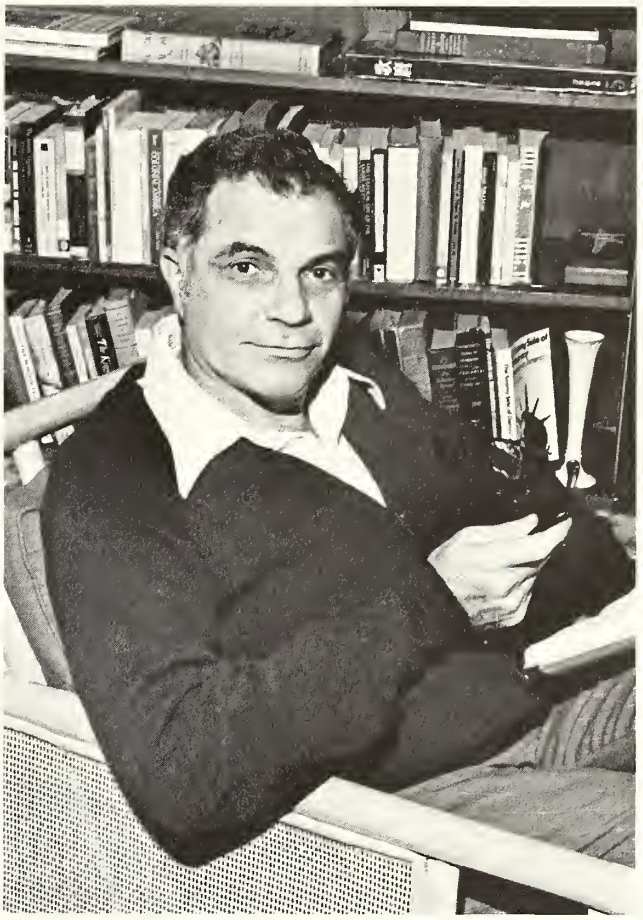
From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Like many other prints of Lincoln published soon after his death, this one celebrated the Emancipation Proclamation as his greatest act.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. Charles Eberstadt noted fifty-two printed editions of the Emancipation Proclamation issued between 1862 and 1865. He called this one a "highly spirited Western edition embellished with four large slave scenes lithographed at the left and four freedom scenes at the right."



Photograph by James Aronovsky
Courtesy of Harold M. Hyman

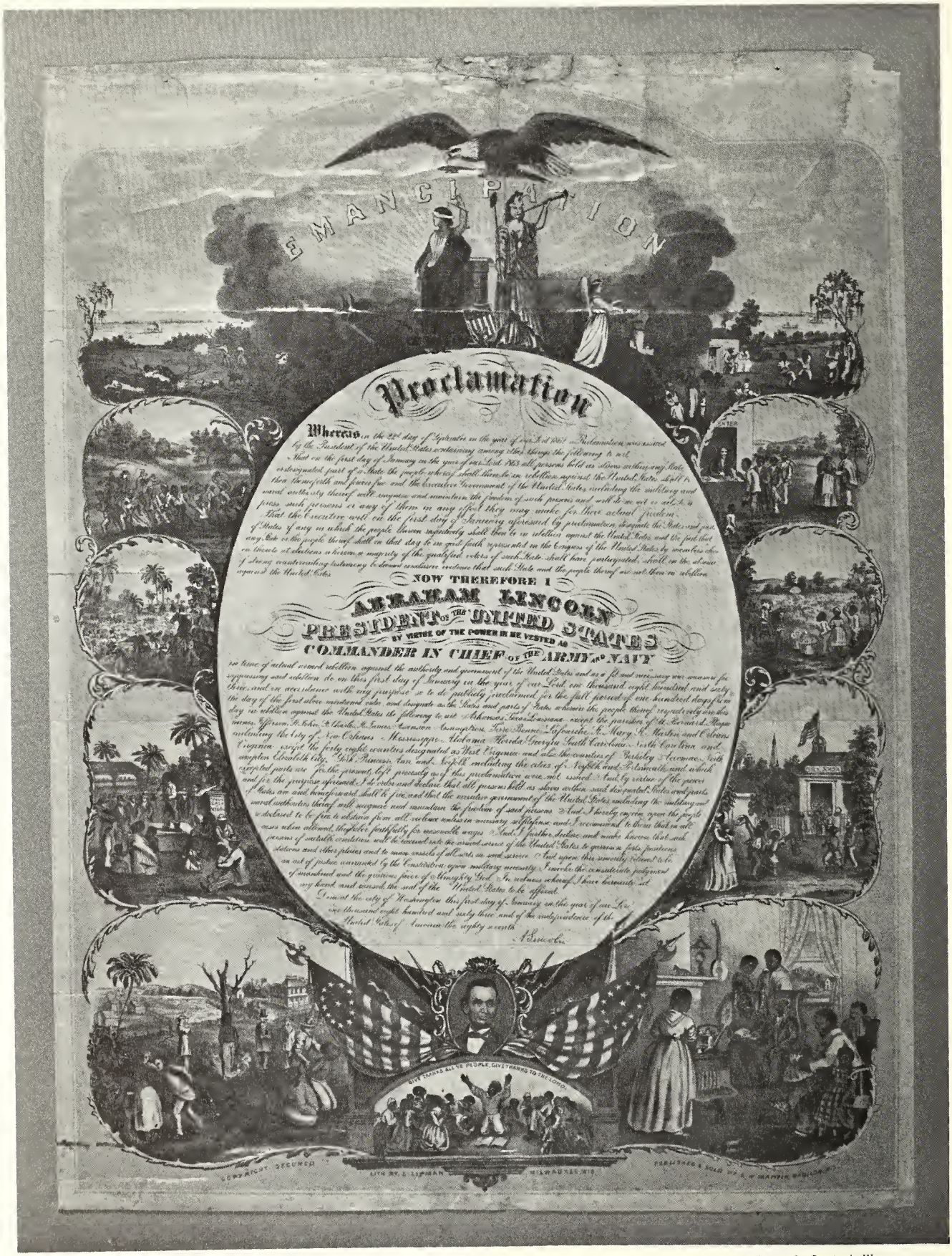
Professor Harold M. Hyman.

AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

Harold M. Hyman, William P. Hobby Professor of History at Rice University, will present the third annual R. Gerald McMurtry Lecture on Thursday, May 8, 1980, at 8:00 p.m. at the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum. His subject will be "Lincoln's Reconstructions: Neither Failure of Vision Nor Vision of Failure." Professor Hyman will discuss issues posed by the recent *Bakke* decision and by *Brown vs. Board of Education,* examining their roots in the ideas of equality and the national institutions Lincoln created to encourage equality.

Professor Hyman is a leader of the current movement toward a new understanding of the importance of American constitutional history. He is the author of more than half a dozen books. Lincoln students know him best for *Era of the Oath: Northern Loyalty During the Civil War and Reconstruction; Stanton: The Life and Times of Lincoln's Secretary of War;* and *A More Perfect Union: The Impact of the Civil War and Reconstruction on the Constitution.*

For further information call (219) 424-5421 ext. 7031.



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. Charles Eberstadt noted fifty-two printed editions of the Emancipation Proclamation issued between 1862 and 1865. He called this one a "highly spirited Western edition embellished with four large slave scenes lithographed at the left and four freedom scenes at the right."

in 1854 changed all this. Lincoln was startled when territory previously closed to slavery was opened to the possibility of its introduction by local vote. He was especially alarmed at the fact that this change was led by a Northerner with no direct interest in slavery to protect.

In 1841 Lincoln had seen a group of slaves on a steamboat being sold South from Kentucky to a harsher (so he assumed) slavery. Immediately after the trip, he noted the irony of their seeming contentment with their lot. They had appeared to be the happiest people on board. After the Kansas-Nebraska Act, he wrote about the same episode, still vivid to him, as "a continual torment to me." Slavery, he said, "has, and continually exercises, the power of making me miserable."

Lincoln repeatedly stated that slaveholders were no worse than Northerners would be in the same situation. Having inherited an undesirable but socially explosive political institution, Southerners made the best of a bad situation. Like all Americans before the Revolution, they had denounced Great Britain's forcing slavery on the colonies with the slave trade, and, even in the 1850s, they admitted the humanity of the Negro by despising those Southerners who dealt with the Negro as property, pure and simple — slave traders. But he feared that the ability of Northerners to see that slavery was morally wrong was in decline. This, almost as surely as disunion, could mean the end of the American experiment in freedom, for any argument for slavery which ignored the moral wrong of the institution could be used to enslave any man, white or black. If lighter men were to enslave darker men, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with a fairer skin than your own." If superior intellect determined masters, then "you are to be slave to the first man you meet, with an intellect superior to your own." Once the moral distinction between slavery and freedom were forgotten, nothing could stop its spread. It was "founded in the selfishness of man's nature," and that selfishness could overcome any barriers of climate or geography.

By 1856 Lincoln was convinced that the "sentiment in favor of white slavery . . . prevailed in all the slave state papers, except those of Kentucky, Tennessee and Missouri and Maryland." The people of the South had "an immediate palpable and immensely great pecuniary interest" in the question; "while, with the people of the North, it is merely an abstract question of moral right." Unfortunately, the latter formed a looser bond than economic self-interest in two billion dollars worth of slaves. And the Northern ability to resist was steadily undermined by the moral indifference to slavery epitomized by Douglas's willingness to see slavery voted up or down in the territories. The Dred Scott decision in 1857 convinced Lincoln that the Kansas-Nebraska Act had been the beginning of a conspiracy to make slavery perpetual, national, and universal. His House-Divided Speech of 1858 and his famous debates with Douglas stressed the specter of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery.

Lincoln's claims in behalf of the slaves were modest and did not make much of the Negro's abilities outside of slavery. The Negro "is not my equal . . . in color, perhaps not in moral or intellectual endowment," Lincoln said, but "in the right to put into his mouth the bread that his own hands have earned, he is the equal of every other man, white or black." Lincoln objected to slavery primarily because it violated the doctrine of the equality of all men announced in the Declaration of Independence. "As I would not be a *slave*, so I would not be a *master*," Lincoln said. "This expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no democracy."

Lincoln had always worked on the assumption that the Union was more important than abolishing slavery. As long as the country was approaching the ideal of freedom for all men, even if it took a hundred years, it made no sense to destroy the freest country in the world. When it became apparent to Lincoln that the country might not be approaching that ideal, it somewhat confused his thinking. In 1854 he admitted that as "Much as I hate slavery, I would consent to the extension of it rather than see the Union dissolved, just as I would consent to any GREAT evil, to avoid a GREATER one." As his fears of a conspiracy to nationalize slavery increased, he ceased to make such statements. In the secession crisis he edged closer toward making liberty more important than Union. In New York City on February 20, 1861, President-elect Lincoln said:

> There is nothing that can ever bring me willingly to consent to the destruction of this Union, under which . . . the whole country has acquired its greatness, unless it were to be that thing for which the Union itself was made. I understand a ship to be made for the carrying and preservation of the cargo, and so long as the ship can be saved, with the cargo, it should never be abandoned. This Union should likewise never be abandoned unless it fails and the probability of its preservation shall cease to exist without throwing the passengers and cargo overboard. So long, then, as it is possible that the prosperity and the liberties of the people can be preserved in the Union, it shall be my purpose at all times to preserve it.

The Civil War saw Lincoln move quickly to save the Union by stretching and, occasionally, violating the Constitution. Since he had always said that constitutional scruple kept him from bothering slavery in the states, it is clear that early in the war he was willing to go much farther to save the Union than he was willing to go to abolish slavery. Yet he interpreted it as his constitutional duty to save the Union, even if to do so he had to violate some small part of that very Constitution. There certainly was no constitutional duty to do anything about slavery. For over a year, he did not.

On August 22, 1862, Lincoln responded to criticism from Horace Greeley by stating his slavery policy:

> If there be those who would not save the Union, unless they could at the same time *save* slavery, I do not agree with them. If there be those who would not save the Union unless they could at the same time *destroy* slavery, I do not agree with them. My paramount object in this struggle *is* to save the Union, and is *not* either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing *any* slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing *all* the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that. What I do about slavery, and the colored race, I do because I believe it helps to save the Union; and what I forbear, I forbear because I do *not* believe it would help to save the Union. I shall do *less* whenever I shall believe what I am doing hurts the cause, and I shall do *more* whenever I shall believe doing more will help the cause. I shall try to correct errors when shown to be errors; and I shall adopt new views so fast as they shall appear to be true views.
>
> I have here stated my purpose according to my view of *official* duty; and I intend no modification of my oft-expressed *personal* wish that all men every where could be free.

The Emancipation Proclamation, announced just one month later, was avowedly a military act, and Lincoln boasted of his consistency almost two years later by saying, "I have done no official act in mere deference to my abstract judgment and feeling on slavery."

Nevertheless, he had changed his mind in some regards. Precisely one year before he issued the preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, Lincoln had criticized General John C. Frémont's emancipation proclamation for Missouri by saying that "as to . . . the liberation of slaves" it was "*purely political*, and not within the range of *military* law, or necessity."

> If a commanding General finds a necessity to seize the farm of a private owner, for a pasture, an encampment, or a fortification, he has the right to do so, and to so hold it, as long as the necessity lasts; and this is within military law, because within military necessity. But to say the farm shall no longer belong to the owner, or his heirs forever; and this as well when the farm is not needed for military purposes as when it is, is purely political, without the savor of military law about it. And the same is true of slaves. If the General needs them, he can seize them, and use them; but when the need is past, it is not for him to fix their permanent future

condition. That must be settled according to laws made by law-makers, and not by military proclamations. The proclamation in the point in question, is simply "dictatorship." It assumes that the general may do *anything* he pleases—confiscate the lands and free the slaves of *loyal* people, as well as of disloyal ones. And going the whole figure I have no doubt would be more popular with some thoughtless people, than that which has been done! But I cannot assume this reckless position; nor allow others to assume it on my responsibility. You speak of it as being the only means of *saving* the government. On the contrary it is itself the surrender of the government. Can it be pretended that it is any longer the government of the U.S. — any government of Constitution and laws, — wherein a General, or a President, may make permanent rules of property by proclamation?

I do not say Congress might not with propriety pass a law, on the point, just such as General Fremont proclaimed. I do not say I might not, as a member of Congress, vote for it. What I object to, is, that I as President, shall expressly or impliedly seize and exercise the permanent legislative functions of the government.

Critics called this inconsistency; Lincoln's admireres have called it "growth." Whatever the case, just as Lincoln's love of Union caused him to handle the Constitution somewhat roughly, so his hatred of slavery led him, more slowly, to treat the Constitution in a manner inconceivable to him in 1861. Emancipation, if somewhat more slowly, was allowed about the same degree of constitutional latitude the Union earned in Lincoln's policies.

The destruction of slavery never became the avowed object of the war, but by insisting on its importance, militarily, to saving the Union, Lincoln made it constitutionally beyond criticism and, in all that really mattered, an aim of the war. In all practical applications, it was a condition of peace — and was so announced in the Proclamation of Amnesty and Reconstruction of December 8, 1863, and repeatedly defended in administration statements thereafter. He reinforced this fusion of aims by insisting that the Confederacy was an attempt to establish "a new Nation, . . . with the primary, and fundamental object to maintain, enlarge, and perpetuate human slavery," thus making the enemy and slavery one and the same.

Only once did Lincoln apparently change his mind. In the desperately gloomy August of 1864, when defeat for the administration seemed certain, Lincoln bowed to pressure from Henry J. Raymond long enough to draft a letter empowering Raymond to propose peace with Jefferson Davis on the condition of reunion alone, all other questions (including slavery, of course) to be settled by a convention afterwards. Lincoln never finished the letter, and the offer was never made. Moreover, as things looked in August, Lincoln was surrendering only what he could not keep anyway. He was so convinced that the Democratic platform would mean the loss of the Union, that he vowed in secret to work to save the Union before the next President came into office in March. He could hope for some cooperation from Democrats in this, as they professed to be as much in favor of Union as the Republicans. Without the Union, slavery could not be abolished anyhow, and the Democrats were committed to restoring slavery.

Lincoln had made abolition a party goal in 1864 by making support for the Thirteenth Amendment a part of the Republican platform. The work he performed for that measure after his election proved that his antislavery views had not abated. Near the end of his life, he repeated in a public speech one of his favorite arguments against slavery: "Whenever [I] hear any one, arguing for slavery I feel a strong impulse to see it tried on him personally."

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. This Indianapolis edition of the Emancipation Proclamation, published in 1886, obviously copied the edition in Figure 2. Note, however, that the harsher scenes of slavery are removed — a sign of the post-Reconstruction political ethos.

Lincoln Lore

June, 1980

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Number 1708

BLAIR

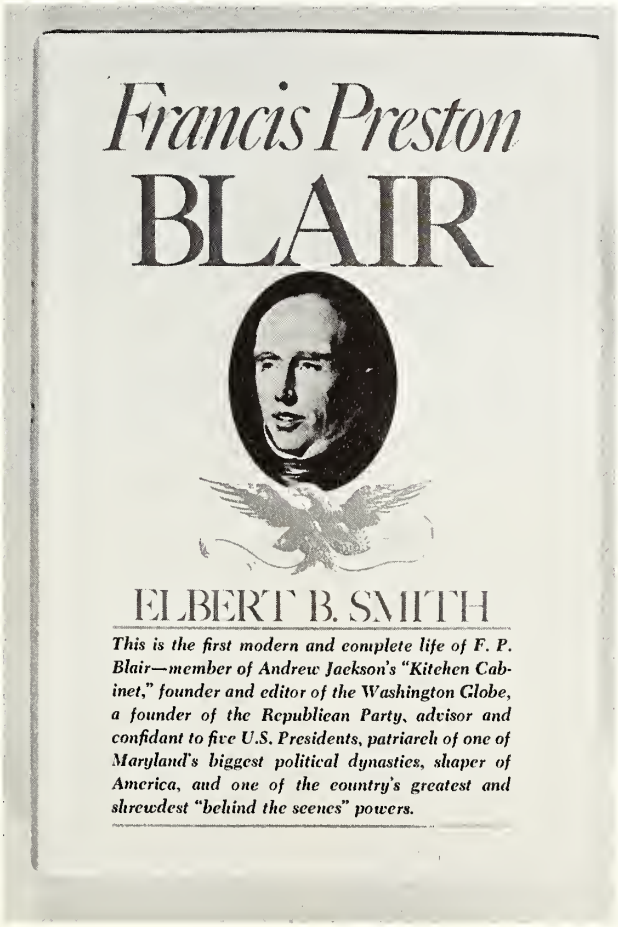
The elder statesman is a familiar fixture on the Washington political scene today. In recent years, the names of Clark Clifford and Averell Harriman have often appeared in the headlines at times of national crisis. Abraham Lincoln's administration was one long crisis, and Francis Preston Blair was the Civil War's elder statesman. A relic of the Presidency of Andrew Jackson, Blair was influential because of his proximity to Washington, his blurred partisanship, his many political connections, and his age and experience. At last he has a modern biographer, Elbert B. Smith, who gives considerable stress to the Civil War years in *Francis Preston Blair* (New York: The Free Press, 1980).

Blair was seventy years old when the Civil War began. An architect of Jacksonian Democracy in his prime, he bitterly opposed the expansion of slavery and became an important founder of the Republican party when he was well into his sixties. His family and political relations formed a powerful network throughout the Union, especially in the Border States of Maryland, Missouri, and Kentucky. One of his sons, Montgomery Blair, was Lincoln's Postmaster General. Francis Preston Blair, Jr., "Frank," flitted from politics to the battlefront and had sensational impact almost everywhere he went. Even Francis P. Blair's political enemies liked him personally. His family adored him and carried his political ideas everywhere they went. Like most elder statesmen, he played his largest role in foreign policy, initiating the abortive Hampton Roads Peace Conference. Confederates who would trust no other Republican trusted Blair.

This is a competent and fair-minded biography of a man whose political ideas have not been popular in recent years. Like all elder statesmen, Blair's age made him in some respects a political troglodyte. A kindly slaveholder himself, Blair and his politically important family were ardent colonizationists long after the idea was a sociological, political, and economic absurdity. The triumph of their conservative — even reactionary — constitutional ideas after Lincoln's death has not endeared the Blairs to modern historians. Eight years ago, when I asked a college professor what was the point of his lecture on Reconstruction in an American history survey course, he replied humorously, "To hell with Montgomery Blair." Smith's biography, which is particularly strong on the Blair family's inner workings, is a valuable corrective to this hostility absorbed by so many historians in recent years. It is most illuminating to discover how personally likable the old man was. Even the unbudging Charles Sumner never took personal exception to attacks on his political ideas by members of the Blair clan.

Nevertheless, the book's weaknesses must be the real focus of this review. Despite competent research and readable prose, *Francis Preston Blair* is lacking in at least one important respect. Professor Smith, for all his ability to capture Blair the man, never quite delineates Blair the political thinker. To describe the political thought of many a politician / editor / wire-puller, would be a mistake. Opportunism and ad hoc political apologetics too often destroy anything systematic about their political thinking. With Blair, however, it is a serious mistake not to do so. He played a larger role in making Jacksonian political doctrine than Andrew Jackson himself did. When political problems arose, President Jackson always shouted, "Take it to Bla'ar." Despite his ability to land on his feet politically, despite his brave and clever moving with the times into the Republican party, and despite his steady personal loyalty to those he served, Blair's ideas had so ossified by the Civil War era that the most distinctive thing about him was his ideological quality. Even when his policies were up to date, the ideas underlying them were strangely archaic.

Blair was an ideologue, and his children inherited a penchant for grandiose ideas from him. It is virtually impossible, incidentally, to write about Francis Preston Blair. One



From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 1. Dust jacket of the new Blair biography.

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 2. French troops in Mexico worried Blair but did not faze Lincoln.

must always write about the Blairs. Smith does this without really admitting that he does, probably because the only other existing work on the subject, William Ernest Smith's *The Francis Preston Blair Family in Politics,* did exactly the same thing in 1933. One is immediately attracted to Elbert B. Smith's *Francis Preston Blair* because it promises to sort one member of that clan out, but, in fact, the modern Smith cannot do it either. When one finishes the new book, one still thinks of the Blairs' political ideas, not Montgomery's, not Frank's, and not the patriarch's particular ideas.

These ideas were all important, and they are all too sketchily delineated in Professor Smith's book. What Smith has failed to describe is the tendency among the Blairs to think always in systematic, gigantic, almost cosmic geopolitical terms. Among American politicians this trait has often been lacking, and it is a serious error for a biographer of such a rare thinker to ignore it.

To end the Civil War in 1865, Blair concocted a scheme to fight France in Mexico. This was the idea behind the Hampton Roads Peace Conference, and it is common knowledge. There are other clues in Smith's book that the Blairs always painted their political ideas on a grand canvas. The Blairs were not deeply troubled by the policy of emancipation. As Francis P. Blair explained to a Maryland friend as early as April 9, 1862:

> You seem dissatisfied over abolition. All practical men are now sensible that slavery so affects the people whether it ought to do so or not as to make it a terrible institution to our race. They see that it imbues a brother's hand in a brother's blood, and invites foreign despots to plant monarchies on our continent. With this result before us, the only enquiry should be how to get rid of an institution which produces such miseries.

Never content with the practical, parochial, and powerful argument that slavery was bad for the white race, Blair somehow managed to conjure up the bogey of monarchy.

True, French bayonets propped Maximilian up on the Mexican throne, but most Americans took little interest in Latin America. President Lincoln was never much interested in Mexican schemes. As a former Whig, he had long detested American imperial designs on her southern neighbor. A politician of moral vision, Lincoln was also an eminently practical man, and he was content to fight one war at a time. Blair, on the other hand, was obsessed with the monarchical threat on America's southern flank. Democratic politicians, even those with free-soil proclivities like Blair's, had a weakness for Latin American ventures.

Somehow, any threat to American national solidarity caused Blair to see monarchy in the wings. Months before the firing on Fort Sumter, the elder statesman told Lincoln that the North was "as much bound to resist the South Carolina Movement, as that of planting a monarchy in our midst by a European potentate." The days of Jackson seemed not far removed to Blair, who still called the secessionists of 1860-1861 "nullifiers." His policy of resisting secession was up-to-date, all right, but the assumptions behind it were decades old. Earlier still, just after Lincoln's election in November, 1860, Blair had given him a piece of bad advice, telling him to mention colonization in his letter accepting the Republican nomination. This would have the practical effect of warding off "the attacks, made upon us about negro equality." Blair did not leave the subject on that banal, but practical plane, however. He also launched into an elaborate analogy between the Chiriqui Improvement Company, an outfit poised to colonize blacks in Latin America, and the old East India Company, which had made England's empire in India possible. The same anarchy which had invited English intervention in India through a private corporation prevailed "among the little confederacies . . .

South of the Free States of this continent." Chiriqui, Blair said, "may be made the pivot on which to rest our lever to sway Central America and secure . . . the control . . . necessary for the preservation of our Republican Institutions." He was like an ancient and battered weather vane rusted into pointing fixedly in the same direction all the time. Sometimes the winds shifted so that he pointed the way truly, but the key factor was his fixity, not his wisdom.

Inside Blair's odd-shaped and proverbially ugly head, there swam a strange array of sophisticated but old-fashioned ideas. The electoral defeat of Breckinridge, Bell, and Douglas could lead him to think, not of possible civil war or the deeper problem of slavery and racism which underlay that threat, but of Mexico and monarchy. He could leap from politic considerations of the racial views of the American electorate to geopolitical blather about analogies to the British empire. And all this was mixed with occasional acute judgments and a charming self-deprecation. In a letter written before Lincoln's election, Blair told his son Frank that Lincoln had "genius [and] . . . political knowledge" and stressed the importance of his honesty in bringing support. Blair described himself as "a sort of relic which Genl Jackson wielded against the very Nullification" which again threatened the Union.

Smith leaves much of this out, and, in doing so, he nearly leaves Blair out of his biography of Blair. It is most unfortunate that Smith chose to write a "life and times" of Blair, for his life was long and his times comprehended most of American political history from the Era of Good Feelings to the end of Reconstruction. Smith spends entirely too much time in describing general political events, sometimes well and sometimes poorly, and far too little time in analyzing Blair's political vision.

One cannot, from all evidence, dismiss as claptrap and window dressing the grand geopolitical context of Blair's often crudely practical ideas. Though attempting to escape the wrath of Northern racism may appear to be the only operative content in Blair's colonization obsession, in fact the analogies to England and the muttering about monarchy seem really to be the heart and kernel of his thought. In the letter suggesting that Lincoln talk of colonization as a way to ward off accusations that Republicans advocated racial equality, Blair explained the connection between monarchy and slavery. The Southern "oligarchy," he thought, had lost its American love of freedom and saw the "degraded lower orders of whites" as fit only to be slaves or soldiers. Southerners would rather fight than work, and such pre-bourgeois attitudes (Blair did not use that term) would lead to monarchy. From this system of ideas, at least in part, came the Blairs' famed obstinate resistance to secession and compromise!

Francis P. Blair's fevered vision of American politics was always informed by his acquaintance with world history. From the men he regarded as the great luminaries of American history, Washington, Jefferson, and Jackson, Blair claimed to have learned the inevitability of a final solution to America's race problem. "The period has come," he told Lincoln after his election, "which Mr. Jefferson saw would arrive, rendering the deportation or extermination of the African Race from among us, inevitable." He pointed to the "Hostilities of irreconcileable Castes" which "marked the annals of Spain during 800 years, springing from the abhorrent mixture of the Moors with Spaniards, in the same peninsula." Lincoln called him "Father Blair," and one can imagine the mixture of awe and incredulity with which he must have regarded such cosmic musings. The President's own political vision included little of this grand world-historical baggage. Yet at the moment of his greatest political influence on the Lincoln administration, the time of the Hampton Roads Peace Conference, Blair insisted to Lincoln: "You see that I make the great point of this matter that the War is no longer made for slavery but monarchy." The old man blurted his fears that Jefferson Davis would league with a foreign monarchy to save Southern independence. He babbled that Napoleon had wanted a black army from Santo Domingo to invade the American South, stir up insurrection, and bring about French conquest of the United States. At Hampton Roads, by contrast, Lincoln scoffed that he left history lessons to Seward. The President

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 3. Francis Preston Blair, Jr.

was interested in Southern peace terms — even, as G.S. Boritt has suggested, in how much coin it would take essentially to bribe the South into reunion.

Jefferson Davis was a political realist too. He told Blair that France did not want a Mexican empire as much as she wanted a base from which to build up her feeble navy. Davis, at war with an industrially superior nation, knew the lure of coal, iron, and timber. Blair did not get the point. He still feared that Davis would become France's ally in subjecting the United States to monarchy. The elder statesman told Lincoln, far too busy even to read long letters from his generals, to observe the parallels with modern times in Carlyle's *Life of Frederick the Great.*

An old-fashioned idea lay at the heart of Francis P. Blair's thought and that of his influential children. Jacksonian ideologues always saw sharp class conflicts in America. They thought government aid to private corporations aided only rich men. They denied the possible general benefits of economic development. Such issues were irrelevant during the Civil War, but seeing Southern society in the same class terms was not. A perception of class conflict between Southern poor whites and a slaveholding oligarchy apparently lay at the bottom of Blair's fears of Southern willingness to invite monarchies to save their movement for independence. This error in perception of Southern society had serious political consequences. Montgomery Blair inherited from his father a penchant for seeing class conflict, whether it was there or not. Montgomery always insisted that secession was a minority movement and that "Military Government" in the Confederacy held the essentially loyal Southern masses at bay. This was carrying the common Northern belief in the existence of a slave oligarchy to an extreme, but in 1861 more people than the Blairs believed it. Even President Lincoln may have thought that way in 1861. He at least insisted that there was no majority for secession in any Southern state except, perhaps, South Carolina.

Ever the practical observer, Lincoln came to see that this could not be so. After two and one-half years of war, Lincoln admitted that it would be difficult to find even ten percent of the population in any Southern state loyal to the Union. Montgomery Blair never changed his mind. The rigid Blair class analysis ground to its inexorable conclusions. The point

From the Louis A. Warren Lincoln Library and Museum

FIGURE 4. This cartoon from *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper,* January 21, 1865, depicted Blair as a granny, trying to bring the Confederacy to the bargaining table with sugarplums and barley water. General Ulysses S. Grant points to cannonballs as the more appropriate way of convincing the Confederates to rejoin the Union.

of the Postmaster General's famous speech at Rockville, Maryland, late in 1863, was that there existed a loyal *majority* in the South against which the North must never be at war. It brought him the undying hatred of all the Radical Republicans (except friendly Charles Sumner). There is little wonder the Blairs opposed Reconstruction. They had never seen much disloyalty in need of restructuring into loyalty.

It is almost impossible to write a decent biography of a man the biographer hates. The spirit rebels so at spending great amounts of time with an unlikable person that it can result only in unbalanced fulmination against the poor subject of the biography. The problem with Elbert B. Smith's *Francis Preston Blair* is not its mild bias in favor of its subject. This is almost necessary in order to attract a biographer to work, and it is rendered harmless by the common knowledge that most biographers suffer from this fault. Abraham Lincoln himself scorned biography because of its predictable lionization of its subject, no matter what the subject's faults.

The problem with this book is more serious. Smith fails essentially to capture Francis Preston Blair's nature. The ideologue surfaces only occasionally, most notably in Smith's treatment of Frank Blair's speech "The Destiny of the Races of this Continent," delivered in Boston in 1859. There the great Blair political universe is laid out in an astonishing array of references to Dr. Livingstone on African hybrids and to the role of Moors in Spanish history. The speech, as Blair's daughter observed, dazzled "not only the politicians — but the Literati — & State street gentility." Smith's discussion of it dazzles the modern reader too and should make him wonder where all these ideas came from and whither they were going in the Civil War. This rare and brief glimpse of the Blair world view is but a dazzling moment in what is otherwise a competent, but sometimes sketchy, chronicle of Blair's role in many events of American history described at too great length. The inner springs of this fascinating elder statesman's thought and actions are too often left unexplained. And, as Smith's book clearly proves, Blair's thought and action were too important to too many people — from Andrew Jackson to Abraham Lincoln, from Thomas Hart Benton to Charles Sumner — to be left in such a state.

Letters

Jefferson Davis Pioneered the Six-Year Term

To the Editor:

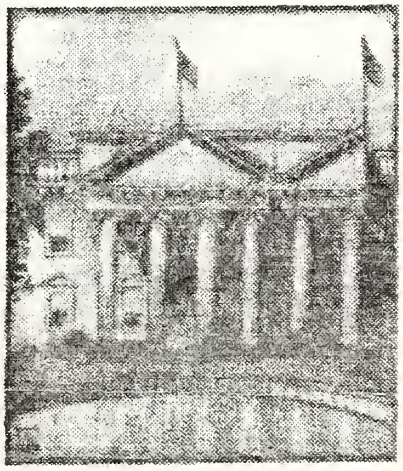
Prof. Arthur Schlesinger Jr.'s Op-Ed article (Jan. 10) on the undesirability of a single six-year term for the President of the United States deserves wide attention. I add to his argument that there has been such a President in the American historical experience. I refer to the president of the Confederate States of America, the Constitution of which limited its chief executive to a single six-year term.

That arrangement did not work very well. Granted that Jefferson Davis and the Confederacy failed to finish a single six-year term. Perhaps also a civil war was not the best context in which to test the alleged reform of Presidential tenure. Conversely, however, it is arguable that a crisis situation such as a civil war is the very best test of constitutional arrangements.

Why did not the Confederate Constitution's provisions for its presidency work effectively? Scholars stress as reasons Jefferson Davis's personality and the innate difficulties faced by a federal government based upon allegedly sovereign states. Analogous difficulties faced the Continental Congresses and the Articles of Confederation. Congress, during our Revolution, and Abraham Lincoln, across the Potomac during the same years when Davis was Confederate president, were not unfamiliar with such problems.

And Davis was not without resources to govern. After all, he had the greatest opportunity since George Washington to make patronage appointments. Nevertheless, once he made those appointments in 1861 and 1862, the un-re-electable Davis was a lame-duck incumbent. He could only rarely thereafter wield the stick-and-carrot potentialities of the presidential office, as Lincoln did so effectively in the Union states. It is noteworthy that Lincoln in 1864 became the first second-term President since Jackson. Davis in early 1865 could reach only Appomattox.

The longish tradition, especially among some social scientists and historians, that the Confederate Constitution was a veritable reform blueprint worthy of emulation in the 1980's for ways to improve the 1787 United States Constitution seems very dubious. Professor Schlesinger's trenchant argument against the single six-year term for the President is the more telling when illuminated



Daniel Adel

further by the Confederate experience.

HAROLD M. HYMAN
William P. Hobby Professor of History
Rice University
Houston, Jan. 13, 1986

Illusory Safeguard

To the Editor:

Professor Schlesinger's arguments against a one-term, six-year Presidency ring with a kind of old-fashioned rhetoric that sounds better than it is. "The Founding Fathers," he says, "were everlastingly right when they turned down this well-intentioned but ill-considered proposal 200 years ago." What the argument boils down to is that a two-term, eight-year Presidency is a viable defense against Presidential abuse of power.

The argument assumes that the more responsive a President is to popular needs and desires, the better President he will be. It assumes the people desire to maintain an ever-vigilant watch over Presidential exercise of power. It assumes the will of the people to act for their collective good still exists. As a historian, Mr. Schlesinger must be aware that there is no basic difference as humans between the people who inhabited. say, the Roman Empire 2,000 years ago and the people of the United States today.

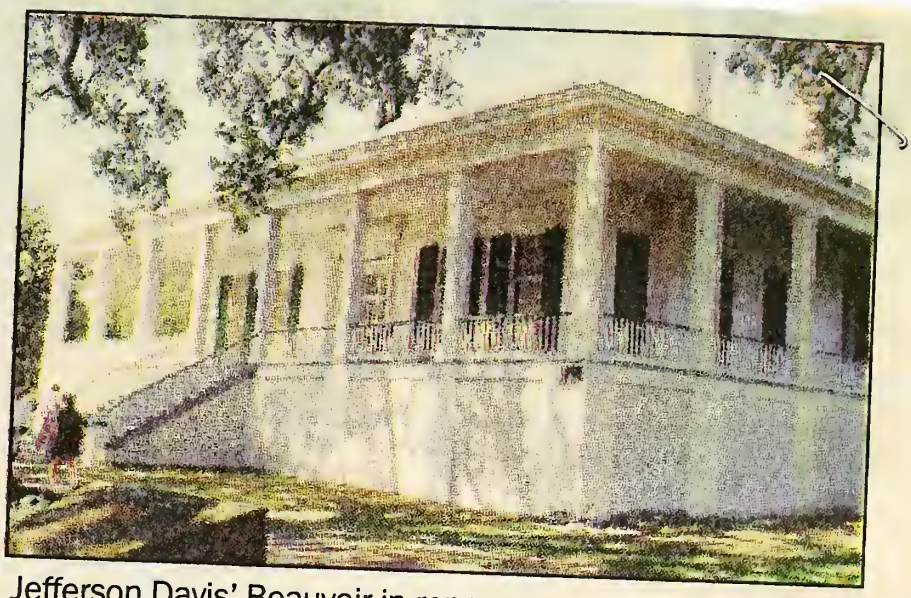
In an age when even senators openly advocate granting the Presidency the line-item veto, in an age of gross and dangerous dependence upon military might, in an age of calculated governmental indifference to the poor and homeless, Mr. Schlesinger too smugly assumes that his issue is valid. Who is seriously challenging the status quo?

Besides, to rely on a four-year, two-term President to keep us safe from harm seems pointless with the kind of growing centralization of power in the Presidency that far too many Americans not only endure but also respect and embrace.

"Brutus: Was the crown offer'd him thrice?

"Casca: Ay, marry, was't! and he put it by thrice, every time gentler than other; and at every putting-by mine honest neighbors shouted." — "Julius Caesar" (Act I, scene ii, lines 228-31)

PETER KINGSLEY
Brooklyn, Jan. 10, 1986



Jefferson Davis' Beauvoir in repose.

The last home of a lost cause

BILOXI, Miss.—Beauvoir, the residential compound where Jefferson Davis began his fade into history, continues to convey an air of resignation. Davis, the defeated Confederate president, spent his last years at Beauvoir, writing an autobiography and his two-volume "The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government," but somehow it's difficult to picture him here.

In a tiny library building near the planter-style main house, he surrounded himself with bookshelves and took up an apparently insular existence. A window behind the massive desk had once probably confirmed the logic of the name Beauvoir, French for "beautiful view." Over the years, howev-

SEE BEAUVOIR, PAGE 10

Beauvoir

CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1

er, the vista has been rendered mundane.

Heavy traffic on U.S. 90, also called Beach Boulevard, mars what must have been a tranquil scene of live oaks framing a pristine Gulf of Mexico. Now it's mostly cars heading for Biloxi's new casinos, and Beauvoir shares the neighborhood with resorts and motels.

In this part of the country, the South has risen again, jangled awake by slot machines and looking toward a future that probably would have stretched Jefferson Davis' imagination beyond its limits.

In his final speech to a group of sympathizers, an 80-year-old Davis said in 1888: "The past is dead; let it bury its dead, its hopes and its aspirations; before you lies the future—a future full of golden promise, a future of expanding national glory, before which all the world will stand amazed. Let me beseech you to lay aside all bitter sectional feelings, and to take your places in the ranks of those who will bring about a reunited country."

The man who helped to splinter the country with a Civil War that cost more than 600,000 lives crafted his words of reconciliation—not of apology or regret—at this estate, built with slave labor in the early 1850s. Beauvoir, by virtue of Davis' presence and its later incarnation as a rest home for Confederate veterans, is now a National Historic Landmark managed by the Mississippi division of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans.

Beauvoir is open to the public, and the buildings and 57 acres of grounds evoke a sense of dead past, rather than lost glory. The theme—beginning with exhibits and a video presentation in the adjacent museum—casts Davis as a gentle man, terribly misunderstood, departing gently from a land torn by strife.

Old photographs in the museum show the Jefferson Davis funeral train winding through a mournful South.

The video narration portrays a loner, freed from prison but stripped of any citizenship, huddled in his library, roaming the grounds, hard at work at his desk, ruminating under his favorite shade tree.

Sarah Dorsey, a wealthy Davis admirer, had purchased the property in 1873 and named it Beauvoir. Longing for some postwar serenity after the Civil War, Davis was pleased to visit Beauvoir on a few occasions, and in 1877 accepted Dorsey's invitation to move in.

His wife, Varina Howell Davis, had been touring Europe at the time, and upon her return, she joined him. In 1888, the Davises agreed to buy Beauvoir from Dorsey for $5,500. Dorsey died before the new owners could pay off the mortgage, but a clause in her will retired the debt. The presence of the former Confederate leader on her land probably had been payment enough, anyway. Dorsey once described him as "the highest and noblest man in existence."

The main house reflects the Davises' genteel poverty. It rises on pillars above a tall foundation—a common Southern design meant to ward off floods and capture breezes. A central hallway lined with family portraits runs the length of the house. The corridor did double duty as a banquet hall for large dinner parties. Other rooms are small and neat but unimpressively furnished with the dark, massive pieces favored at the time.

Those touring Jefferson Davis' last home might sense a sad mythology at work—the former President of the Confederacy in repose, the setting for an old man who had lost a tragic conflict but not his beliefs, a kindly leader long since deposed.

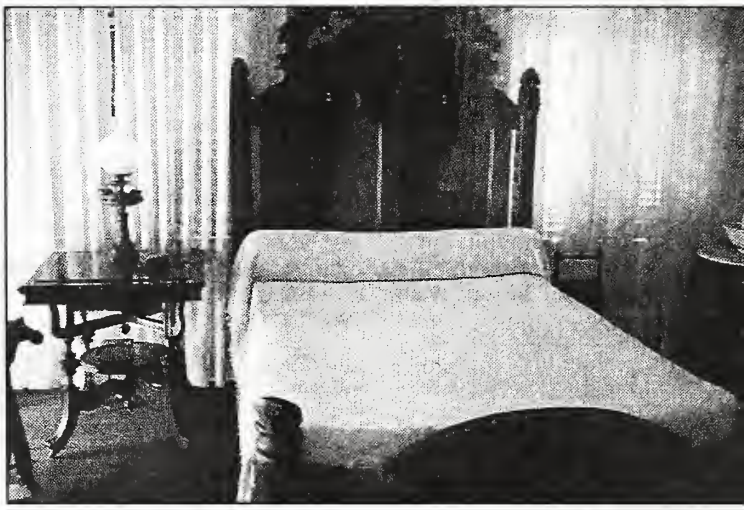
At Beauvoir, visitors see few reminders of the steely West Point graduate who became Mississippi's leading representative in Congress and eventually stalked out of the U.S. Senate with a farewell speech that amounted to a declaration of war.

The Davis of Beauvoir days evidently loved to nurture grape vines and citrus groves, hike the shores of Oyster Bayou and write for hours in his small library-cottage. The commander in chief who constantly second-guessed his officers, often with disastrous effect; the leading advocate of slavery—well, that was a Jefferson Davis who had lived somewhere else.

After Jefferson Davis' death in 1889, Mrs. Davis and her daughter Winnie moved to New York City. Mrs. Davis sold the estate for $10,000 in 1903 to the Mississippi branch of the United Sons of Confederate Veterans, with the stipulation that it be preserved as a memorial to her late husband and a home for old soldiers and their dependents.

Tribune photos by Robert Cro

The Civil War cemetery behind Beauvoir marks the final resting plac of veterans and their kin.



During the last years of his life, Jefferson Davis slept in this simple Beauvoir bedroom.

Beauvoir served that purpose until 1956, functioning as a dormitory complex and infirmary for Confederate veterans, their families and their servants. The last of those residents had all died off by the mid-'50s, and 771 of them are buried in a cemetery on the grounds. They lie beneath tombstones now, a short walk from Beauvoir's main house.

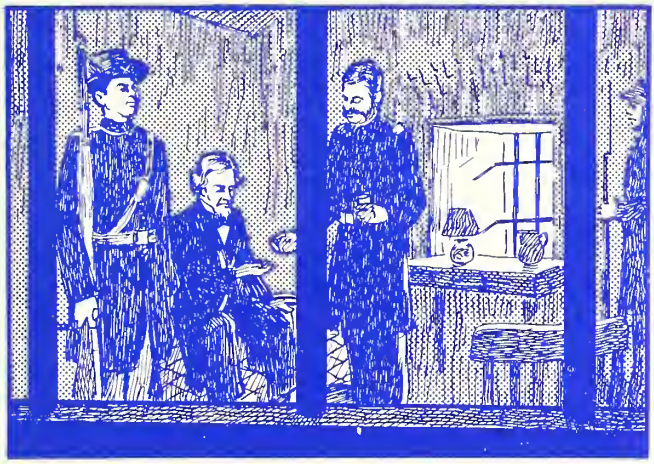
A Celtic cross in the cemetery honors the 268,000 Confederate servicemen killed in the Civil War. Simple tombstones mark the graves of those who died in mor natural ways, as Davis did. In sense, they were survivors, livin out their days at Beauvoir an thinking, perhaps, about all th comrades and enemies who die young.

Beauvoir (2244 Beach Blvd. Biloxi, Miss., 39531; 601-388-1313) open 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. (last ticket sold at 4:30 p.m.) daily (close Christmas Day). Admission: $4.7 adults, $4.25 senior citizens or mil tary personnel (active duty), $2.5 children ages 6-16 (under 6 ad mitted free).

All public areas are wheel chair accessible.

JEFFERSON DAVIS *Casemate*

FORT MONROE, VIRGINIA



JEFFERSON DAVIS PRISONER IN THE CASEMATE

America's most famous political prisoner, was held for two years (1865-1867) at Fort Monroe on Old Point Comfort, Va. The cell with its whitewashed stone walls and barred window overlooking the green water of the moat recalls vividly that fateful day of May 22, 1865, when Jefferson Davis entered the cell, falsely accused of plotting the assassination of Abraham Lincoln.

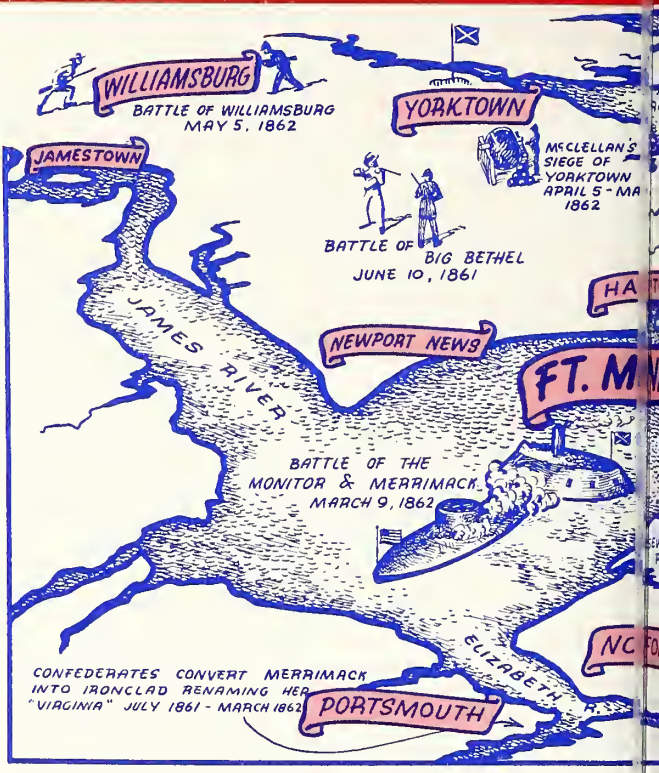
Lt. Colonel John J. Craven, Chief Medical Officer at Fort Monroe in 1865, befriended the captured Confederate President. He gradually succeeded in relieving the harsh conditions of his early imprisonment. Eventually, Dr. Craven was able to get the prisoner moved to a better place in the fort. This kindly Union Army doctor was from Newark, New Jersey.

The outer room of the Jefferson Davis Casemate, once used by Union soldiers guarding the prisoner, now serves as a gallery for thirteen pictures of the adventurous life of the first and last President of the Confederate States of America. A casemate is a chamber in the wall of a fort.

ADMISSION FREE

Open every day of the year 8 A. M. to 5 P. M.

The Virginia Peninsula is



OLD FORT MONROE CASEMATE

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, exploring Old Point Comfort in 1608, considered it an excellent site for a fort. In 1609 Fort Algernourne was built. It was eventually succeeded by others. Fort Monroe was begun in 1819 and finished in 1834. It controlled the channel from Chesapeake Bay into Hampton Roads. Invulnerable because of its strength and position, it was sometimes called the Gibraltar of Chesapeake Bay.

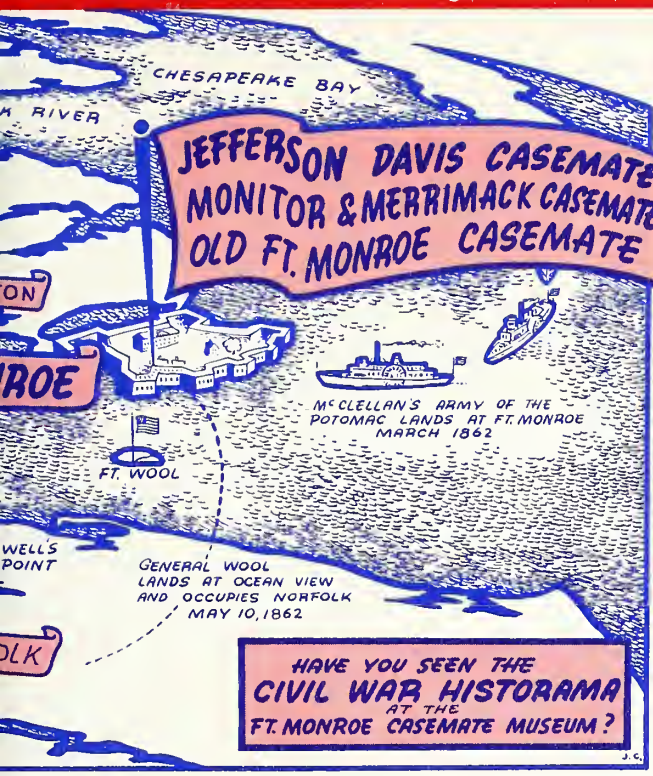
The huge fortifications still overlook the channel, but guns are fired only to salute distinguished visitors and to signal reveille and retreat. Nevertheless, the fort is still of great importance, for it is the headquarters of the United States Continental Army Command.

Fort Monroe was designed by GENERAL SIMON BERNARD, French military engineer and former aide to Napoleon, who served in the United States Army from 1816 to 1830. Returning to France, Bernard became Minister of War. In 1959 the city of Dole (Jura), France, birthplace of Simon Bernard, presented a bust of this great military engineer to the Fort Monroe Casemate Museum.

ROBERT E. LEE

Perhaps one of the primary reasons that Fort Monroe was never attacked during the Civil War was because Robert E. Lee, as an engineer in the United States Army, assisted in the building of Fort Monroe and knew its strength. Lee served at Fort Monroe for

Civil War History Land!



three and one-half years (May 1831 to November 1834). His first son was born at Fort Monroe.

FORT MONROE IN THE CIVIL WAR

Fort Monroe was one of the few forts in the South not captured by the Confederates. It was a base for the Union Army and Navy and the scene of many exciting events. GENERAL McCLELLAN landed the Army of the Potomac at Fort Monroe in 1862 when he attempted to capture Richmond by advancing up the Virginia Peninsula. ABRAHAM LINCOLN spent May 6-11, 1862, at Fort Monroe where he helped plan the operations against Norfolk.

GENERAL U. S. GRANT was at Fort Monroe April 1-3, 1864, to plan the campaign that finally won the war. THE ARMY OF THE JAMES, which played an important part in the Petersburg Campaign, was assembled at Fort Monroe. AMPHIBIOUS EXPEDITIONS organized at Fort Monroe won strategic footholds along the Confederate coast from North Carolina to Louisiana, gradually closing down the major ports of the Confederacy.

The story of all these events, and many more, is told by exhibits in the Old Fort Monroe Casemate. Also on display is the CIVIL WAR HISTORAMA by Jack Clifton, a panoramic painting describing 25 major events of the war occurring at or near Fort Monroe.

MONITOR AND MERRIMACK CASEMATE

Two iron monsters, MONITOR and MERRIMACK, pounded one another for four hours in Hampton Roads on March 9, 1862. This first battle of ironclads was a draw, but the shots they fired shook the world.

The Confederates hoped to destroy the Union fleet in Hampton Roads and Chesapeake Bay, and starve Fort Monroe into surrender. MERRIMACK destroyed two powerful wooden warships near Newport News, and menaced the rest of the fleet until the timely arrival of MONITOR.

The MONITOR and MERRIMACK Casemate contains scale models and plans of the two famous ironclad ships, pictures of the battle, a map of Hampton Roads, portraits, letters and the front page of the *New York Times* of March 10, 1862 (the day after), with a story of the fight, which has not yet been surpassed.

TALES OF OLD FORT MONROE

1. Robert E. Lee at Fort Monroe.
2. Black Hawk at Fort Monroe.
3. Edgar Allan Poe at Fort Monroe.
4. General Simon Bernard: Aide to Napoleon, Designer of Fort Monroe.
5. Is it a Fort or a Fortress?
6. Fort Monroe in the Civil War.
7. Short History of the Civil War.
8. U. S. Grant Comes to Fort Monroe.
9. Abraham Lincoln's Campaign Against the *Merrimack*.
10. Old Point Comfort: America's Greatest Bastion.
11. The *Fanny:* First Aircraft Carrier (1861).
12. The *Monitor* and the *Merrimack*.
13. Jefferson Davis: Brief Biography.
14. On to Richmond! General McClellan's Peninsular Campaign.
15. Abraham Lincoln at the Hampton Roads Peace Conference (1865).

10 cents each. *Seven for 50 cents.*
Three for 25 cents. *Fifteen for one dollar.*

FORT MONROE CASEMATE MUSEUM

Box 341 **Fort Monroe, Virginia**

Post Cards, Fort Monroe & Civil War, Kodachrome, 20 for $1.00

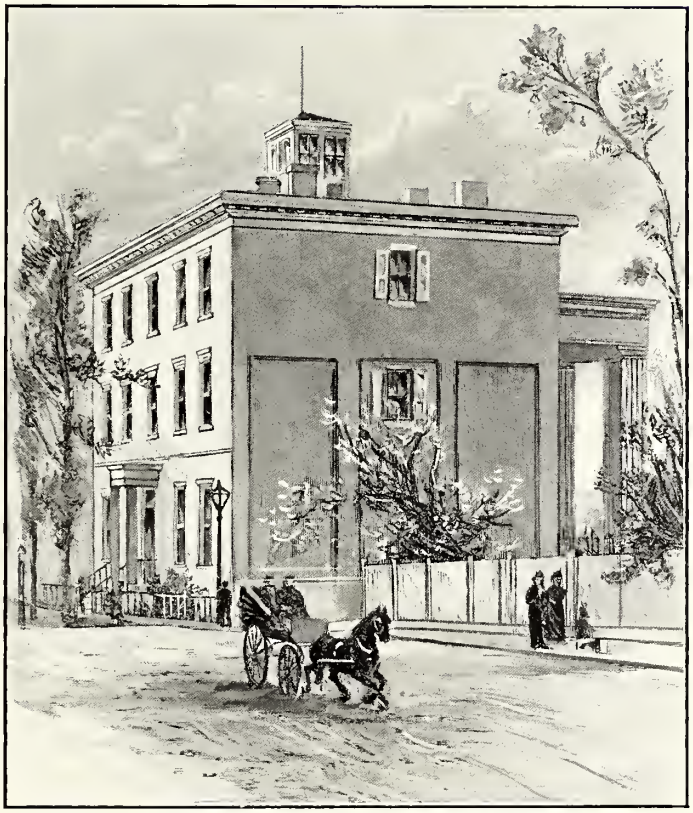
HOW TO GET TO FORT MONROE

From Williamsburg, Va., south on Route 168, Interstate 64 to Exit 5, left on 143 to Fort Monroe. From Washington, 1, 17, Interstate 64. From Baltimore, 301, 17, Interstate 64. From the South via 258. From Norfolk via Hampton Roads Bridge Tunnel. From Eastern Shore via Chesapeake Bay Ferry and Hampton Roads bridge Tunnel (Combination Toll).

The Peninsula Chamber of Commerce invites you, while in this vicinity, to visit Buckroe Beach, St. John's Church and the Syms-Eaton Museum in Hampton; War Memorial Museum and The Mariners Museum in Newport News; Yorktown, Colonial Williamsburg, Jamestown Festival Park and Jamestown Island.

VIII

File not used



The White House of The Confederacy
Jeff. Davis' house in Richmond
from a contemporary engraving

RECALLS HOW DAVIS LAUGHED AT LINCOLN

Bodyguard Tells of Peace Parley in '62

By The United Press

OCALA, Fla. — Jefferson Davis' brief peace conversation with Abraham Lincoln in 1862 was recalled here today by J. W. Sylvester, one of few eyewitnesses.

Sylvester, then with the First Maine Cavalry, served as a bodyguard to Davis on his short visit to Washington.

President Lincoln, Sylvester recalled, offered to pay $400 a head for slaves and pay for war damages to the South, but President Davis firmly rejected the offer.

"We've started it and we're going through with it," he said.

The conversation lasted but a few minutes. Then Cavalryman Sylvester and others of the bodyguard escorted the two presidents to the train.

"'I'm going to free the slaves,'" Sylvester said Lincoln told Davis as a parting word. Davis—the incident occurred in the days of Confederate success at Bull Run—laughed, the Maine veteran said.

Lee and Davis at West Point (LEE). Register of the Officers and Cadets of the U. S. Military Academy. June, 1827. 22pp., 16mo, sewed. N.p., n.d. $5.00

In order of merit in their resepctive classes, as determined at the General Examination in June, 1827: Robert E. Lee, sophomore class of 60 members, ranks second; Jefferson Davis, in a class of 37 (third year), ranks 29th. Ranked according to conduct, of the entire roll of 202 Cadets, Lee is seventh, with no demerits. Davis 101st, with 70 demerits.

117 **CLEVELAND, GROVER.** A.L.S. five pages, 1887. Important letter written during his first term. $22.50

Cleveland writes about *"improper conduct in Maryland by Federal office holders"—"I disapprove strongly of the course of any public officer who has a large and important department—who yet proposes to leave his place to interfere with the politics of another state—I feel like saying that I am not likely to permit him sooner than any other office holder to embarrass or discredit me in which I know and you know and he knows to be honest efforts to give the proper good government"* etc.

118 **CLEVELAND, GROVER.** Autograph message (unsigned) "To the Senate". Returning without approval a Senate bill with particulars of his reasons. One full quarto page. $8.50

119 **CLINTON, GEORGE.** First Gov. N. Y., Rev. Gen.; Member of Cont. Congress. A.L.S., one full page, Albany, 1785. $22.50

Concerning the *"liquidation of Accts. of the public officers and Inhabitants of this State against the United States."*

Letter and Manuscript

121 **COLERIDGE, SAMUEL T.** Poet. ["The Ancient Mariner" — "Kubla Khan".] A.L.S., one page, 1826. To Mrs. Montagu. Mention is made of Sara and Fanny Coleridge. Also one closely written page of manuscript [once in the possession of Southey]. Two pieces $85.00

The manuscript is a characteristic essay on *"perception,"* about 200 words. An inscription by W. G. Sprague reads *"This page is the hand writing ing of Coleridge. Given me by Southey."* Coleridge and Robert Southey were intimates and after 1813 Southey cared for the Coleridge family.

122 **COLERIDGE, SAMUEL T.** A.L.S., three pages, quarto, 1823. $42.50

A long interesting letter written early in his period of enthusiasm for Germanic thought and literature. He writes about Germany . . . *"To be with me for any continuance and in any bond of sympathy and not to feel attached to Germans, and to prize the intellectual growth of Protestant Germany, is scarcely possible."*

141 **DAVIS, JEFFERSON.** President of the Confederacy. A remarkable A.L.S., seven pages, quarto, 1855. $60.00

Only a portion of this extremely long and important letter can be quoted,—

"A contest involving only the distribution of offices at even the mere question of party supremacy has little chance compared with one which presents a fair issue between the great principles of democracy and the dangerous and odious heresies of federalism. Centralization claimed a power beyond any thing which Hamilton ever dreamed of when it assumed to prescribe to the states the rule by which the right of suffrage should be measured, and the bones of Jefferson might be imagined to rattle in their last resting place when the people whom he loved and for whom he had labored entertained the idea of trying political qualification by a religious test.

"We are all apt to be casuists when our wishes incline to a certain conclusion and distrusting myself, I will not give utterance to considerations connecting a personal question with the future of our political creed.

"Some of my Friends at home and elsewhere have mentioned me as a candidate for the Vice Presidency, the first office I would not have, the last is not to be thought of, and a man's friends should not make him ridiculous.

"We of the South have been too much disposed to rely on the intrinsic merits of our cause, and to neglect all the necessary defences whilst an active enemy was seizing the outposts preparatory to an attack upon the citadel. Abolitionism would gain but little in excluding slavery from the territories if it was never to disturb that institution in the states, and Northern supremacy in both houses of Congress would not have been pursued through so many years of labor if it had been a thing which was not to be employed against the equal rights of the other section. A direct attack they have too much sagacity to make for that would be met by open resistance, but through the forms of legislation, and ostensibly for the public service, a section having the control of both houses of Congress can gradually work an inequality which will reduce the other section to a tributary condition. We have lost our equality in the Senate, and it is of vital importance that we should endeavor to regain it. We should not allow the Abolitionists to Colonise Kansas by emigrant societies without making an effort to counteract it by throwing in a Southern population, and so of New Mexico."

123 **COLERIDGE, SAMUEL T.** A.L.S., one full page, closely written. $35.00

Literary contents—mentions his *"Essay on the Life, Character, & Times of Leighton."*

Literary Piracy

124 **COLLINS, WILKIE.** Novelist. A.L.S., four pages, 1875. $12.50

A significant letter sending to his American agent *"The Clergyman's Confession"* offering it without charge to the *"Canadian Illustrated News"* if they pay for the rights to *"The Laird and the Lady."* If they do not, the new title is to go to any *"rival Canadian Paper which will publish it simultaeously."*

Confession — 1668

125 **[COLONIAL.]** "To the Honoured Court Assembled at Cambridge April 7, 1668.—The Humble Confession of Samuel Church of Watertown." Interesting example of this type of document, fine condition. $12.50

126 **CONRAD, JOSEPH.** A.L.S., two pages, "Ravensbrook, Surrey," 1898. $18.50

128 **COOLIDGE, CALVIN.** A.L.S., one page, "The Vice President's Chamber," 1922. Fine. $40.00

A friend from Massachusetts, who stumped the state in support of Coolidge for Governor, couldn't get by the Senate doorman. When the Vice President learned of this he wrote

My dear Harry:—

I am very sorry to have missed you. Perhaps you can write me and see me on my return. The man at the Senate door seems to have misunderstood.

Cordially
CALVIN COOLIDGE"

127 **[CONSTITUTION.]** D.S., signed by the Selectmen of Roxbury, Mass., certifying Increase Sumner and William Heath as delegates to the Convention "for the purpose of assenting to and ratifying the Constitution or Frame of Government for the United States of America." One page, Dec. 17, 1787. $15.00

129 **COOLIDGE, CALVIN.** As Vice-Pres. L.S., one full page, Washington, 1922. $4.50

130 **COOLIDGE, CALVIN.** Printed "Message" to the 70th Congress, signed. 17 pages, 1928. $15.00

131 **COOPER, JAMES FENIMORE.** Autograph manuscript. A portion of the original MS. of "Oak Openings." Over 300 words in ink. Fine condition. $25.00

132 **COOPER, J. FENIMORE.** Novelist. A.L.S., one full quarto page, New York, 1826. To C. B. King the American artist. An early letter. $22.50

Concerning an appointment to sit for a portrait by King. Reference is made *"to the head of Franklin"* being painted by Dunlap. Interesting.

133 **CORNWALLIS, GENERAL CHARLES.** Surrendered at Yorktown. A.L.S., two pages, India, 1792. $20.00

Altho Cornwallis was second in command during the American Revolution he was kept inactive much of the time. During the 1780's and early 1790's he was the leading military and civil figure in India defeating Tippoo and establishing a number of reforms. This letter relating to financial affairs in India is in fine condition.

134 **COROT, CAMILLE.** Painter [1796-1875.] A.L.S., one page "C. Corot." $6.00

Are You Troubled with Insomnia?

145 **DICKENS, CHARLES.** Autograph manuscript, one very full page, octavo [about 500 words]. From "The Uncommercial Traveller." Manuscript fragments of Dickens' novels are seldom available. Matted under transparent cover. $225.00

"The Uncommercial Traveller" appeared first in the periodical *"All The Year Round";* various episodes were turned out between 1860 and 1869. This manuscript is a part of one of the last few contributions (1869) which was printed as *"A Little Dinner in an Hour."* The first published collection (1860) contained only the opening series and this chapter appears 13 years latter in the final collection, in book form. Dickens explains the title of the book by his habit at this period of rising in the wee hours to conquer insomnia and walking in or out of the city. *"I am always wandering here and there seeing many little things and some great things which because they interest me, I think may interest others."* Again he wrote *"turned out of bed at two and walked thirty miles into the country to breakfast."*

BUFFALO BILL STRIKES IT RICH!

68. WILLIAM F. CODY ("BUFFALO BILL"). 1846-1917. American Scout and Showman.

A.L.S., ("W.B. Cody"), 1p., 4to, 10 April 1916, Cody, Wyoming, DeMaris Radium Springs. To "My Dear Ambrose".

"...Your favor of 5th inst found me here taking these health giving waters - before leaving to join the show...Everything is oil here at Cody. Expert oil men predict the Cody oil fields will be one of the largest in America. The oil is the best yet discovered. 57 percent gasoline. Should predictions prove true I wont have to worry much longer..." Cody died about 7 months later.

$265.00*

DAVIS DESCRIBES HIS CAPTURE "IN WOMAN'S CLOTHING"

69. JEFFERSON DAVIS. 1808-1889. President of the Confederate States of America.

Historically Important Letter Signed, 5pp, 4to, Beauvoir Harrison Co., Miss., 8 April 1878. With a full one page holograph addendum signed by Davis. To General Crafts J. Wright.

In 1964 the diary of Capt. Benjamin Pritchard containing a first hand account of how he and his men captured Confederate President Jefferson Davis on 10 May 1865 "...in disguise of an old woman..." was auctioned in New York for $5,300.00. In the remarkable historic letter we offer for sale now, Jefferson Davis gives his own account of the same incident. The letter is written in 1878 from Beauvois, Miss., where Mr. Davis lived out the twilight years of his life, and it is safe to say that Mr. Davis was in high dudgeon when he dictated it to his secretary (Varina, his wife, and usual amanuensis being in Memphis at the time). A few days earlier (on the 2nd and 4th), General Wright had sent to Davis an account of his capture recently printed in the Chicago Tribune which apparently leaned heavily, too heavily, it would seem for Mr. Davis's taste, on Pritchard's description of the capture, and in his letter to Wright, Davis ticks off the numerous discrepancies between Pritchard's memory and his own. It takes him just six quarto pages to set the record straight -- the last page being an addendum entirely in his own hand and initialed by him.

Our letter once formed part of Oliver R. Barrett's great

private collection of Lincolniana and was published in its entirety in Carl Sandburg's LINCOLN COLLECTOR (p. 294-6). A portion of that printing is presented below.

$1750.00

Beauvoir Harrison Co. Miss
April 8th, 1878.

Dear Friend,

I have just received your of the 2nd & 4th insts. together with the Chicago Tribune which you enclosed to me. I thank you for the affectionate zeal you manifest in my behalf. Mrs Davis is now in Memphis & I have not the advantage of availing myself of her recollection of events. So as you ask me to answer at once I can only give you at this time my own recollections to be filled out as soon as I may with what I may learn from her.

As has been heretofore stated our little encampment was surprised by the firing across the Creek, being a combat of the Federal brigade with the other. It was then as stated so dark that the troops did not recognise each other. My coachman waked me up & told me there was firing across the Creek; as I had lain down fully dressed, I immediately arose, stepped out, & saw some cavalry deployed at large intervals advancing upon the Camp: It was not light enough to distinguish any thing distinctly, but the manner of the movement convinced me that it was not by the marauders who were expected, but by troopers; and I stepped back so to inform my wife. She urged me to leave them believing that troops would not injure them but that I would be in danger by remaining. She threw over my shoulders her own Waterproof cloak and a shawl also, and sent her servant girl, a colored woman[,] with me as if going to the Branch for water. There were no sentinels around the tents, but a horseman advanced towards me, ordered me to halt & dropped his carbine on me. I instantly threw the shawl & cloak off, so as to be unencumbered & answering his demand for a surrender with a defiance, advanced towards him. My wife seeing this for I was still very near to the tent, ran after me & threw her arms around my neck; I then turned back, led her to the tent—& passed around to the rear of it, to a fire which was burning there. The colored woman picked up the cloak & shawl and returned with them to the tent. All statements not in keeping with this, are *false*. Some time elapsed after this before I saw Col Pritchard, he afterwards told me that he was sent in pursuit of the wagon train, that he had no expectation of finding me with it and did not know for three hours after that *I* was in the camp—which time he has however now reduced to "ten minutes"! With the addition the purpose of which is evident, that he also thus early learned, that I was "disguised when captured."

Jefferson Davis & T.V.

Beauvoir July 7 1924 Thomas Jones,

"The Commission of cadet granted the undersigned month ago and remitted to Natchez, on account of my absence was forwarded here. I accept it.

Can not attend to it before September, for reasons I will explain to the Superintendent in my answer

Yours &c
Jefferson Davis

J. E Calhoun,

also a letter to him with for T.V. Aug 2, 1924 folk dues July 7

Jones is a shrewd lawyer for West Point

Rowland - writing Vol I.

Davis remark about Lincoln

"Next to the destruction of the Confederacy
the death of Mr Abraham Lincoln
was the darkest day ~~in our history~~ the South has ever known."

Yates Jee Office

p 205

DAVIS

EXECUTIVE OFFICERS OF JEFFERSON DAVIS' ADMINISTRATION

PRESIDENT

Jefferson Davis	1861-1865

VICE PRESIDENT

Alexander H. Stephens	1861-1865

CABINET

SECRETARY OF STATE

Robert Toombs	1861-1861
R. M. T. Hunter	1861-1862
Judah P. Benjamin	1862-1865

SECRETARY OF TREASURY

Charles G. Memminger	1861-1864
James L. Trenholm	1864-1865

SECRETARY OF WAR

L. Pope Walker	1861-1861
Judah P. Benjamin	1861-1862
James A. Seddon	1862-1865
John C. Breckinridge	1865-1865

SECRETARY OF NAVY

Stephen R. Mallory	1861-1865

ATTORNEY GENERAL

Judah P. Benjamin	1861-1861
Thomas H. Watts	1861-1862
George Davis	1862-1865

POSTMASTER GENERAL

John H. Reagan	1861-1862
Henry J. Elliot	1862-1865

(HHAP 336)

DAVIS, J.

3 JUNE 1808 — 6 DEC. 1889

Christian Co Ky. New Orleans La.

JEFF DAVIS is dead. He stepped down into the "valley and shadow" this morning at 12:30 o'clock. He was a traitor by instinct and a scoundrel by education. Indirectly he murdered more soldiers during the war than any one of the Confederate brigades. He was a whelp whose bark was never silent, and whose presence was a greater affliction than pestilence. Now that his carcass is covered with clay and his soul descended to its final abode, the country is to be congratulated. If the defenders of the old flag whom he tortured to death in Andersonville and Libby and other prison pens of the south are permtited to look down upon the revelry his advent to the infernal regions has created, what a jubilee will take place in the city of pearly streets. Long years ago he should have been hunted from life, the despised scullion of a thousand infamies—the loathsome viper—the debased, brazen outcast. Let his memory be damned as effectually as his soul, and let his name be mentioned only as an insult to the most superlatively debauched of God's creations.

Jefferson Davis

Bibl. of Bibl.

1. Cyclopedia American Biography
2. Lippincott's Biographical Dic.

Primary

1. "Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government" (1881) 2 Vol.
2. "History of the Civil War" (1880)
3. Letters, Papers &c - (Ed. - Dunbar Rowland) 10 Vols. (1923)

Secondary

*1. Dodd, Wm. E. - "Jefferson Davis (1907)
2. Mrs. Jeff. Davis, Ex. Pres. of Confed. States of Am. A memoir by his wife 2 Vol. (1890)
3. Rowland, Eron - Varina Howell, Wife of Jeff. Davis (1927 - Macmill.)

Fiction

1. Kirkman, Mrs. M. - The Romance of Gilbert Holmes (early days of Davis & Knights)
2. McLaws, Lafayette - The Wedding
3. Altsheler, Jos. A. - Before the Dawn
4. Sinclair, Capt - Manassas

Jefferson Davis

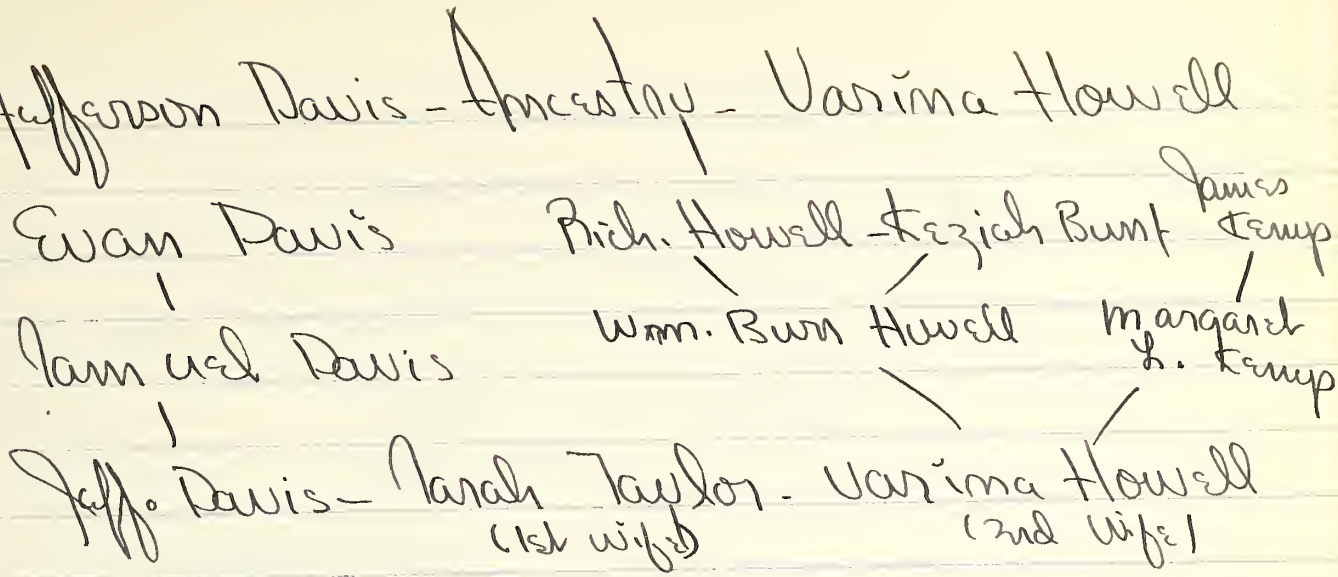
Objective

Pictures –

1 to 3 in Varina Howell

Monument in Todd County, Ky. (birthplace)

Jefferson Davis - Ancestry - Varina Howell



VI.

STATISTICAL RECORDS FOR BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

1. NAME Jefferson Davis

Born June 3, 1808 at Todd County Ky

Died 1889 - Dec. 6 at New Orleans, La

2. LENGTH OF LIFE 82 yrs -

3. F A M I L Y

Father	Mother	Brothers	Sisters
Jam. Davis d. 1828	Jane Cook	Joseph Davis (best known)	8 sisters & 6 brothers - Jeff - Youngest

4. PHYSIOGNOMY IN MATURE YEARS

Height	Weight	Hair	Eyes	General Physique
6'			Gray-blue	Slender, tall, erect

5. EARLY YOUTH Home training at

Natchez, Wilkinson Co. - Mississippi

6. EDUCATION

Elementary	Secondary	College and University
Mt. Thomas Seminary	Transylvania U. Lexington, Ky.	West Point

7. MARRIAGE

Date	Age	Name of Wife	Children	Descendants
1835		Zahna Knox Taylor Varina Howell		

8. H A B I T S

Alcohol	Tobacco	Sports	Accomplishments

9. LIFE SERVICE WITH DATES

Public Offices	Other Occupations

10. DEATH

Date	Cause	Place	Place of Burial
Dec. 6, 1889	old age	New Orleans	Holly wood Cemetary banks of James Ro.

11. NOTABLE MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

12. HISTORY OF LIFE. Best Biographies Authorship. Names of his books.

OUTLINE LIFE OF Jefferson Davis

		STATE	CITY or TOWN	EVENTS	AGE
1801 JEFFERSON	1808	Ky.	Todd county	Born	
1809 MADISON					
1817 MONROE				Entered West Point	
	1824			Graduated	
1825 ADAMS	'28			Black Hawk War (No. No. Frontier)	
1829 JACKSON	31			married ~~John~~ Sarah Knox	
	'35			Planter	
1837 VAN BUREN				m. Varina Howell; el. to Congress	
1841 HARRISON-TYLER	'45			Colo in Mexican War	
1845 POLK	'46			app. to vacancy in Senate; el. 1848	
	'47			Sec'y of War - Pierce	
1849 TAYLOR-FILLMORE	'53			elected to Senate	
1853 PIERCE	'57			Resigned	
1857 BUCHANAN	'60			el. Pres. of Confederate States	
1861 LINCOLN	'61			Prisoner of War - Fortress Monroe	57
1865 JOHN SON	'65			Released on bond	59
	'67			Private life near Gulf of Mexico.	
1869 GRANT					
1877 HAYES					
1881 GARFIELD ARTHUR					
1885 CLEVELAND		La	New Orleans	Died	
	-1889				
1889 HARRISON					
1893 CLEVELAND					
1897 McKINLEY					

AMERICAN STATESMEN

Asynopsis, showing the order and content of the notes to be made for each biographical study.

I. SOURCES. A. References to lists of sources.
B. Detailed Lists of Sources
1. LITERARY a. Primary
b. Secondary
c. Fiction
2. OBJECTIVE. Places, Museums, Pictures, Monuments, statues, etc.
3. MISCELLANEOUS. Sense Impressions, Music, Philology, Anthropology, etc.

II. PORTRAIT AND OTHER PICTURES.

III. MAPS. Fullpage outline maps. Residences and travels.

IV. ANCESTRY including chart or " family tree".

V. BIOGRAPHICAL CHART. All events to be entered on the page relative to their chronological position in the century.

VI. STATISTICAL RECORDS of personal characteristics, etc.

VII. OFFICIAL ASSOCIATES. (Cabinet officers, of presidents)

VIII. STORY OF LIFE. A brief biography of salient facts.

IX. RELIGION.

X. SUMMARY.
1. For what lasting achievements do we honor the subject of this study ?

2. Why was he great ?

3. What was the driving motive of life ,or- wherein lay the power of the personality studied ?

4. What is the personal significance,- that is,- the value of the life of this person studied to your life ?

XI. VERBATIM QUOTATIONS FROM WRITINGS OR SPEECHES.

XII. MISCELLANEOUS NEWSPAPER AND MAGAZINE ARTICLES. EULOGIES, POETRY.

(If you use color in any of your charts, for the sake of uniformity, please use green for periods of youth, red for maturity, and blue for last periods. Use, ofcourse, more colors if you desire, but follow this scheme so far as practical.)

Jefferson Davis

Clarke

I Sources

I. Bibl. of bibliography
A. Cyclopedias of Am. Biography
B. Encyc. Britannica
C. " Americanna
D. Lippincott's Biog. Dict.

II. Literary Sources:
A. Primary
1. The Rise + Fall of the Confederate Government - Davis. 1881. 2 V.
2. History of the Civil War 1880 Davis.
3. Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist, His letters, papers + speeches. 10 vol. 1923. ed. by Dunbar Rowland

B. Secondary
× 1. Wm. E. Dodd: Jefferson Davis (1907)
2. Jefferson Davis, Ex-Pres. of the Confederate States of Am: a Memoir by his wife. (2 vol. 1890)
3. Varina Howell, wife of Jefferson Davis, by Eron Rowland. (1927. Macmillan Co.)

J. Davis

C. Fiction:

1. Kirkman, M. M: The Romance of Gilbert Holmes. (Lincoln & Jefferson in their early days.
2. McLaws, Lafayette: The Wedding
3. Sinclair, Upton: Manassas: A novel of the war.
4. Atteheler: J. A. Before the Dawn.
5. Dixon: Thomas: The Southerner

Davis appears in practically all fiction dealing with Civil War period & in much of that dealing with Lincoln.

III Objective Sources.

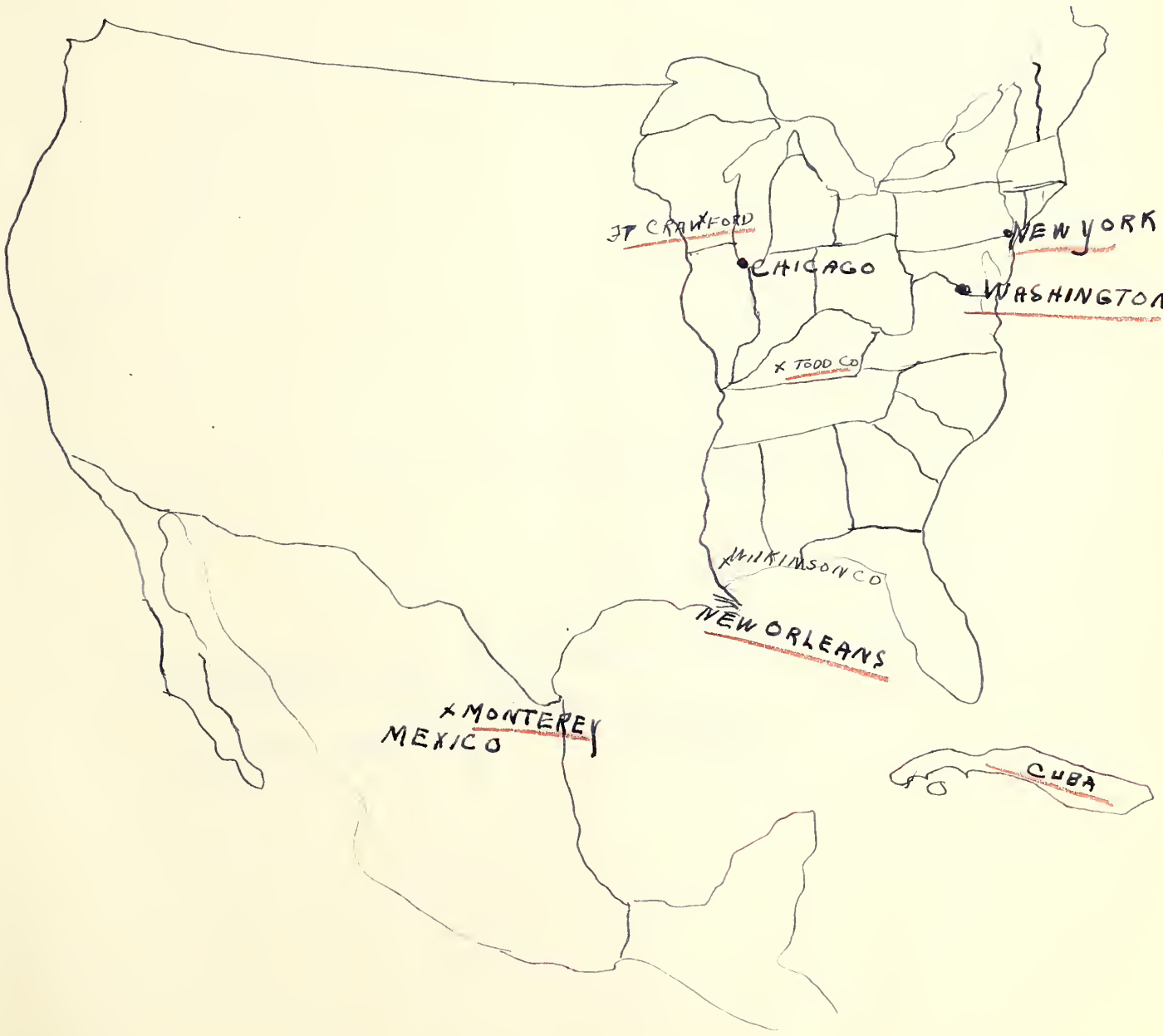
A. Pictures - portraits of Jefferson Davis

1. 3 pictures in Varina Howell, by E. Rowland

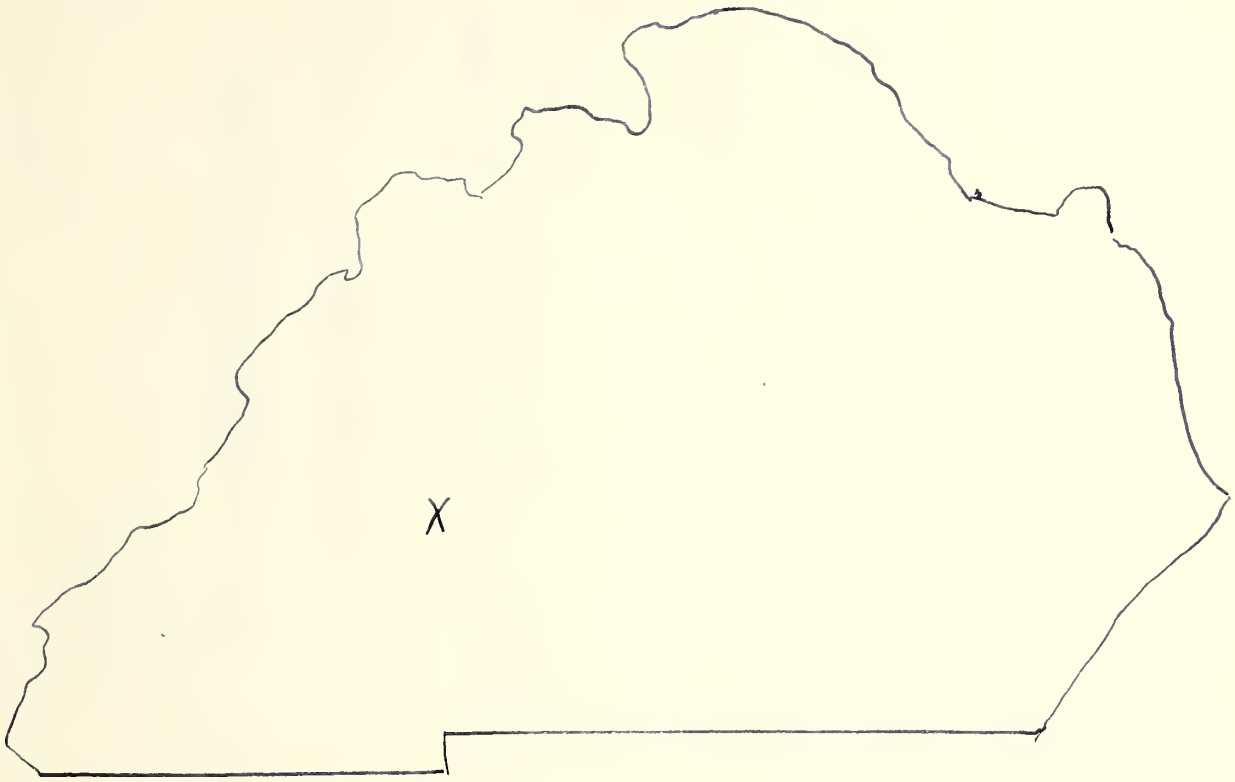
Picture of home - "Brierfield" p. 268.
Varina Howell; by E. Rowland.

B. Monument - in Todd County, Ky. (his birthplace)

Map showing places where Jefferson Davis was located.



KENTUCKY



Birth place of Jefferson Davis, in
Todd County, Kentucky

Evan Davis
|
Samuel Davis
|
Jefferson Davis - Sarah Taylor

Richard Howell - Keziah Burr
|
Wm. Burr Howell - Margaret Louisa Kemp
|
Varina Howell

James Kemp
|
Margaret Louisa Kemp

Ancestry of Jefferson Davis and Varina Howell

Uncertainty

Washington
Adams, J.
Jefferson
Madison
Monroe
Adams, J. Q.
Jackson
Van Buren
Harrison-Tyler
Polk
Taylor-Fillmore
Pierce
Buchanan
Lincoln
Johnson
Grant
Hayes
Garfield-Arthur
Cleveland
Harrison
Cleveland
McKinley

90 | 1800 | 10 | 20 | 30 | 40 | 50 | 60 | 70 | 80 | 90 | 1900

Jefferson Davis

youth — 20 yrs.

Middle life spent mainly in public service — 39 yrs.

Late life — 21 yrs.

1808 Born in Todd County, Ky.
Family moved to Wilkinson Co. Miss. 7
1815 Sent to St. Thomas Seminary, Wash. Co. Ky. 9
1817 Back Miss. to attend local schools 13
1821 Entered Transylvania U. but didn't finish 16
1824 Entered West Point 20
1828 Graduated from West Point. 23
1831 Served in Black Hawk War on northwest frontier 25
1833 In Campaign against Pawnee Indians 27
1835 Married Sarah Knox
Spent life as planter for 10 yrs.
1845 Married Varina Howell 37
1845 Elected to Congress by Dem. party from Miss. 37
1846 Resigned seat in Congress to become a Colonel in Mex. war 38
1847 Appt. to fill a vacancy in U.S. Senate, 1848 elected to Sen.
1853 Sec. of War during Pres. Pierce's term 45
1857 Again elected to Senate 49
1860 Resigned in Senate 52
1861 Was elected Pres. of Confederate States 53
1865 Was taken prisoner of war, held in Fortress Monroe 57
1867 Released from prison on bond. 59
Private life spent near Gulf of Mexico
1889 Died at New Orleans, La 82

VI.

STATISTICAL RECORDS FOR BIOGRAPHICAL STUDY

1. NAME Davis, Jefferson Born 1808, June 3. at Todd County, Ky.
Died 1889, Dec. 6 at New Orleans, La.

2. LENGTH OF LIFE 82 yrs.

3. FAMILY
Father: Samuel Davis died 1828
Mother: Jane Cook
Brothers: Joseph Davis (best known)
Sisters: 8 sisters 3 brothers, Jefferson the youngest

4. PHYSIOGNOMY IN MATURE YEARS
Height: ~~5'10"~~ 6 ft. Weight: Hair: Eyes: Gray-blue General Physique: Slender, tall & erect

5. EARLY YOUTH Home training at
Natchez, Wilkinson Co. Mississippi

6. EDUCATION
Elementary: St. Thomas Seminary
Secondary: Transylvania U. Lexington, Ky.
College and University: West Point

7. MARRIAGE
Date: 1835 Age: Name of Wife: Sarah Knox Taylor Children: — Descendants: —
1845 Varina Howell

8. H A B I T S
Alcohol: Tobacco: Sports: Accomplishments:

9. LIFE SERVICE WITH DATES
Public Offices: Other Occupations:

10. DEATH Date: Dec. 6 1889 Cause: Old age Place: New Orleans, La. Place of Burial: Hollywood Cemetery, Banks of James R.

11. NOTABLE MONUMENTS AND MEMORIALS

12. HISTORY OF LIFE. Best Biographies Authorship. Names of his books.

Early Life. Life of Jefferson Davis

Born June 3, 1808, the 10th child of Samuel and Jane (Cook) Davis, in Todd County, Ky. When Jefferson was a mere child the family moved to Miss. to a small plantation near Woodville, Wilkinson County. At age of 7 was sent to St. Thomas College, a Roman Catholic Seminary, Washington County, Ky. Here he became very fond of the teachers & priests & wished for a time to adopt their religion, although his folks were Baptist. This enthusiasm subsided and in 2 years (1817) was back in Miss. ready to attend local schools.

In 1821 he entered Transylvania U. but did not finish because of being nominated to West Point which he entered in 1824. In 1828 he graduated from here and became a 2nd Lieut. in U.S. Army.

His military apprenticeship of nearly 7 years was spent in Wis. & Ill. where he served in the Black Hawk Indian war. In 1833 Davis was stationed much of the time at Ft. Crawford, Wis. Here he fell in love with Sarah Knox, daughter of Col. Zachary Taylor whom he married in 1835, at age of 27.

Middle life:

During the next 10 years, 1835-45, he spent his life rather quietly as a planter in Miss. His early romance closed tragically. His wife died from malarial fever 3 months after

their marriage. Shortly after that Davis took a trip to Cuba, New York City & Washington.

In 1845 he married Varina Howell, a local beauty and a member of the upmost social rank. This marriage identified Davis with the aristocratic thereafter. Also in 1845 he was elected to the House of Rep. by the Dem. party but resigned the next year to become a colonel in Mexican War until 1847 when he was made a Senator from Miss. which position he held for 5 years.

Davis supported Pres. Polk, favoring the seizure of Mexican territory. He favored slavery & denied that Congress had any power to interrupt the slave system. From 1850-3 Davis again led the private life of a planter, only to reenter politics in 1853 when Pres. Pierce made him Sec. of War. At the close of this service he again was elected to the Senate as a conspicuous defender of the South.

Davis & Douglass fought each other to their death. The issue was between "popular sovereignty" defended by Douglas, & the doctrine of the Dred Scott decision which affirmed Davis' constant position that neither Congress nor local law could interfere with slavery in a territory. Soon after Lincoln's inaugural, when he stated that there would be no more slave states, Mississippi seceded & Davis withdrew from the Senate.

Davis expected war soon after this & had hoped to be commander-in-chief of the Southern army. The seceding states called a convention & elected Jefferson Davis as President of the Confederacy. On Feb. 18, 1861, at Montgomery, he was inaugurated President. From this time on many political enemies were formed. It was the beginning of a quarrel between state & Confederate authorities over enlistments that did not cease until the confederacy collapsed.

During the terrible winter of 1864-5 while the military power of the Confederacy was crumbling, a bill was passed for a new levy of 300,000 men to be raised from population irrespective of color. Virtually this was the defeat for the administration but Davis refused to admit the defeat. He suddenly became infatuated with the idea of emancipation as a last trump, & believed he could win over the British government to enter the war & in the eleventh hour save the Confederacy. However, this failed.

April, 1865, Gen'l Grant captured Richmond. Davis fled Southward but was taken a prisoner in Southern Georgia. He was confined in Fortress Monroe for 2 years in irons. His health failed due to the poor treatment received here.

Late life.

In 1867 Davis was released on bond. Greely & Gerrit Smith, once bitter enemies of every Southerner, were among his bondsmen. A sad 22 years of life remained to him. His fortune lost, his name ruined, & health impaired. However, through European travel he regained much of his health and at age of 70 was more vigorous than he had been for 15 years. He embarked in a succession of business ventures but all failed. He became a poor man. A home was provided for him through the bequest of Mrs. Sarah A. Dorsey, a friend of Mrs. Davis. This was "Beauvoir" on Gulfport Mexico. Here he wrote "The Rise & Fall of the Confederate Govt". In 1881 Miss. wanted to send him to the Senate again, but he refused to ask for Federal pardon without which it was impossible for him to hold a seat.

He died at New Orleans Dec. 6, 1889, at age of 82.

Summary:

1. Lasting achievements for which we honor Jefferson Davis are:

His work in expansion of the west, his work in the building of railways to the west, especially the Pacific R.R.

His public services in the different offices he held, especially as War Minister, during which time he was instrumental in improvement of District of Columbia, the remodeling of the National Capitol with the addition of two wings and a massive dome, the improvement of the Smithsonian Institution of which he had been a member of the first board of Trustees, & nameless other undertakings of a progressive nature were carried by him to successful completion.

2. Why he was great:

His imperious determination, strength, will & iron constitution

2. The driving motive of Jefferson Davis' life was his desire for military fame

4. Personal significance:

Mr. Davis' Oratory

"In youth Jefferson Davis' oratory, like that of his day, was fervid. Men ran to get their friends to come & listen to him whenever he spoke on public occasions, & it was evident on all sides that they were stirred as rarely before by a public speaker. Graceful in bearing, & with a certain air of mastery in his manner, he was more attractive in personal appearance than any of the political leaders of the state."

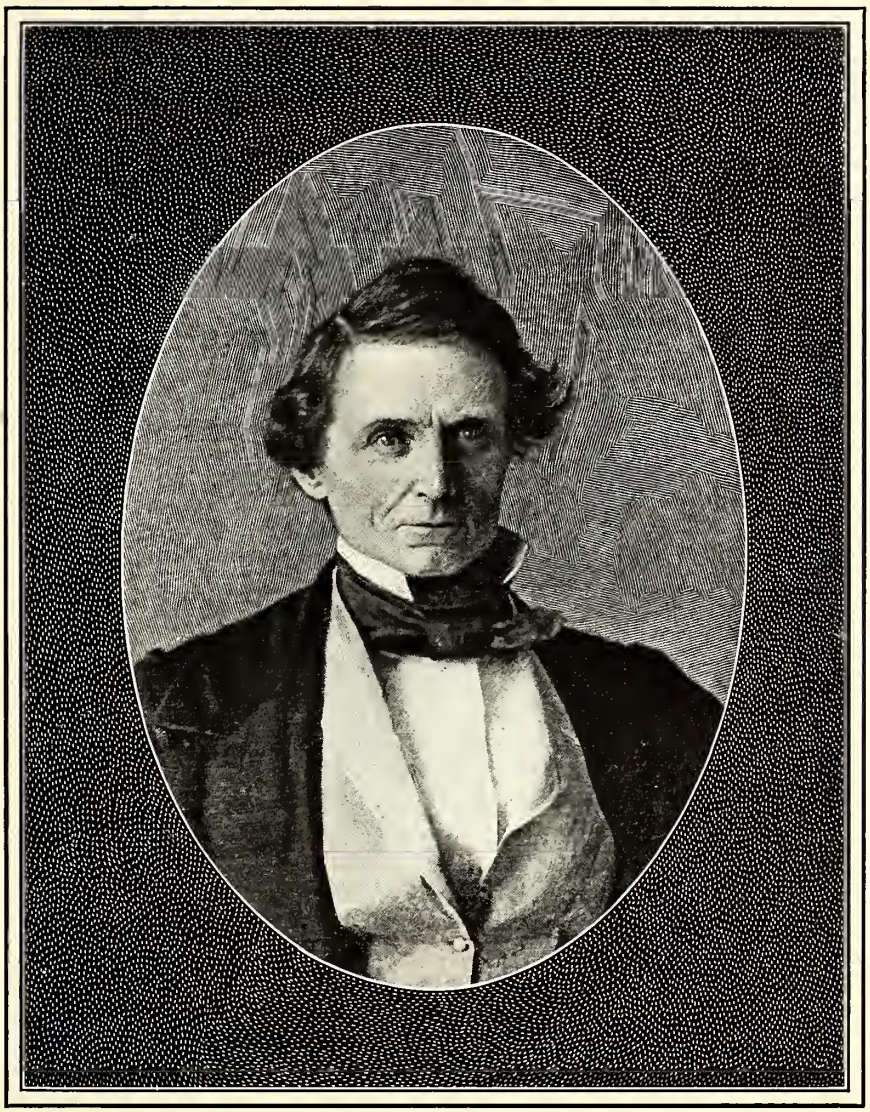
Eon Rowland.

5-8

8. DAVIS AND STEPHENS. On Feb. 4, 1861, a Constitution for "The Confederate States of America." was adopted at Montgomery, Alabama. Jefferson Davis and Alexander H Stephens were chosen as President and Vice-President. Lincoln knew these men well, especially Stephens, with whom he had long had friendly acquaintance.

Use Harpers 23 Feb. 1861

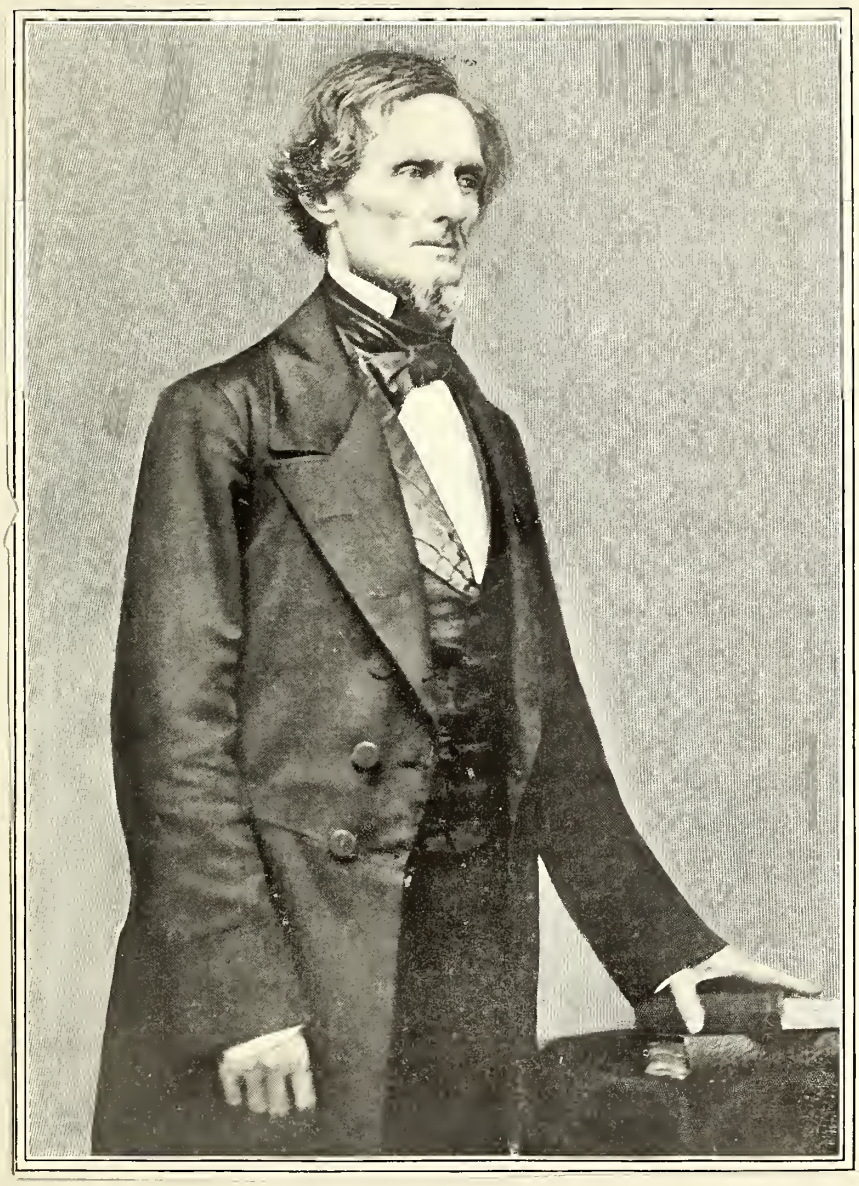
Davis & Stephens

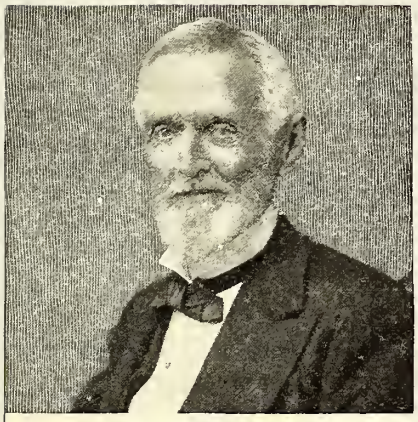


JEFFERSON DAVIS

From a daguerreotype made about 1853 and here published for the first time through the courtesy of Mrs. Jefferson Davis

Jefferson Davis





JEFFERSON DAVIS